

terror
upon terror
upon terror
without end

ADBUSTER

JOURNAL OF THE MENTAL ENVIRONMENT >> MAR/APR 2004 >> NO. 52



Right Left
US UN
God Allah

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I am blessedly American...

I FEEL SILLY TALKING ABOUT MY WAR ZONE BECAUSE I DON'T hear tanks and planes. My neighborhood is not a killing field, full of amputated limbs. I don't wail or bury my loved ones day after day. Bombs do not shatter my neighborhood.

I am blessedly American. I drive my kids to school Monday to Friday so they can learn spelling and computers. On weekends, we sip frozen cappuccinos and watch Saturday matinees. We surf the net and sign off at bedtime.

At first glance, life holds no tangible terror. However, in the quiet moments, we feel short of breath, as if we're slowly suffocating.

How did this happen?

I blame myself for not paying attention. Still, things shifted so quickly. I remember sitting on my couch watching over and over as buildings and bodies crumpled to the ground. I wrote letters, marched and called my representatives. I thought I was protecting our freedom and safety.

Unfortunately, I dropped the activist ball as I settled back into my daily routine. There was work, soccer games and homework. So I left it up to "them" to handle in a sensible way, but while I was clocked out, the bosses took liberties. They constructed an invisible terror.

I can't put my finger on what "it" is because "it" is in an imperceptible fog. Sometimes I stop dead in my tracks and spin around to see what's watching me. Usually, it's just a camera or uniform that's there for my safety. This should be fine, since I asked and paid for this security in a roundabout way. But it doesn't feel right.

In a bizarre example of this trigger-finger patriotism, an American citizen was arrested in a suburban mall for wearing a t-shirt that said "Peace on Earth" and "Give Peace a Chance." Most of us laughed at this caricature of overanxious mall cops, but deep down, we felt a twinge of terminal illness, a shortness of breath.

What was once considered a basic freedom of speech can now be deemed anti-US. Protesting against government machinery could be considered sympathizing with terrorists. Worse, the laws are open-ended – purposely ambiguous, they cover any conceivable scenario.

Our incessant need for home comforts and paternal protection has birthed a police state of sorts. We've become

a republic of jumpy guardians, anxious to perform our patriotic duty at all costs. I thought I was just being paranoid, but then I looked at the Patriot Act, which essentially says that anyone could be arrested for being a member of any group that at anytime might be considered anti-US.

That scared me because I'd been working on a fundraising campaign for an international environmental group described on its website as anti-war. Did this mean that I, a mother of two who does nothing crazier than burn toast and drink Sangrias, could be considered anti-US? Was I on a list?

Are we all on a list? When did we give permission for this *carte blanche* tapping of computers, accounts and memberships? Were we absent at voting time?

America grew strong on a foundation of personal freedoms because the elected were the sum of us, but at some point the collective "we" became diminutive as "they" became kings. Now we're afraid to rail against them for fear of being labeled traitors.

Few will stand up and say: "I hate this war, this tax, this media. I do not agree with this president or that prime minister."

Sure, there are the scattered brave, but they're dismissed as a wacko fringe, while the state-friendly media sugarcoat newscasts with pretty people and patriotic imagery. I hear that we lost soldiers, but I never saw a coffin. Did you? Whatever happened to both sides of the story?

Maybe when we got scared we asked for this. We wanted to stay free, but now our freedoms are being leached away.

So I live in a terror zone. I fear that my children will learn to bite their tongues. I fear "they" will arbitrarily delete library books and websites. I fear this essay will be held against me in a giant database somewhere in DC, or wherever it is "they" hide these things. Most of all, I fear we will ignore the erosion until there is nothing left to breathe but dead air.

Rebecca Noblit-Goodall lives in Pennsylvania. Downsizing her life has brought her from a four bathroom, seven television oceanside penthouse in Florida to surviving on less than \$1,000 a month. She "putters" during her free time at home, writing abstract poetry, baking oatmeal cookies and revising her short novel, Chaise.





how to avoid the
artist trap

- never go to art school
- never go to N.Y.
- never rent a loft

AN ACQUAINTANCE – RICHARD – RECENTLY ASKED WHERE my husband is from. I told him he is Palestinian. “That is an interesting problem,” said Richard without missing a beat. “While I have sympathy for the poor Palestinian people, they must realize that their terrorism will lead nowhere.

“Israel must defend itself against terrorists. Otherwise, if they give in, it will be their end.”

I nodded my head and smiled and said nothing.

After 20 minutes, Richard took a breather and asked, “So, what do you think?”

It’s my policy not to talk politics, and I told him so. Richard looked annoyed. After a moment of uncomfortable silence, he started to philosophize about gay marriages. He knows exactly what Palestinians should do and how homosexuals should behave. He’s a smart guy, that Richard.

Ten years ago, I had strong opinions on parenting. I had an image of myself as a perfect mother who would never make mistakes. I would never yell at my children. I would always treat them with patience. There would be an abundance of understanding and love. In this fantasy, there were no tantrums or dirty diapers, and I was never tired and cranky. I was full of advice for other parents.

Then I had my own children. In hindsight, I wish I’d had the wisdom to listen. I suddenly had new appreciation for my parents – as if by magic, I forgave the mistakes they had made.

I don’t force my advice on other parents now. When they’re having difficulty with their children, I listen and offer my experience. I tell them what works and what doesn’t.

My friend Tim enjoys telling me how to raise my children. “You must give them enough independence,” he says. “Make sure they are eating enough fruits and vegetables.” “You must

encourage them to explore things and think for themselves.” “Reading a book every night is very important.”

Tim can go on for an hour about proper parenting methods. The only problem is that he doesn’t have children. I nod my head and smile patiently. I don’t tell him to shut up and mind his own business. In him, I recognize the naïve, idealistic, well-meaning, self-righteous, pompous idiot I used to be.

What could I say to Tim to describe parenting? How could I put into words the guilt of making mistakes as a parent, the sinking feeling in my stomach when my kids are sick, or the heart-piercing joy when they say, “Mommy, I want to kiss you”? I can’t describe parenting to Tim – he has to discover it himself.

Then we will be able to have a meaningful dialogue about children. Until that time, I will continue to nod my head, to smile patiently.

One day, Richard might decide to visit a refugee camp or hang around Gaza. Perhaps he’ll watch settlers harass a helpless Palestinian farmer, see the look in the eye of a child whose father is humiliated by a soldier, see a bulldozer run over an unarmed peace activist, see for himself what 36 years of military occupation really means. I wonder if he will still see the people as “interesting problems.”

Until that happens, what can I tell him? Maybe my silence will make him curious about a reality not revealed by CNN.

Elen Ghulam is an activist with CanPalNet <www.canpalnet.ca>, a computer programmer and a mother of three children. Her writing can be found on her blog. <www.ihath.com>




... my husband is Palestinian



PRO-WAR DEMONSTRATORS TRY TO DROWN OUT OPPONENTS TO THE WAR IN IRAQ, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 2003

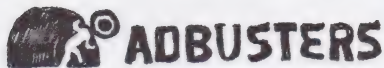


A photograph of a man with dark hair and a beard, wearing a dark t-shirt, shouting into a microphone. He is pointing his right index finger towards the right. In the background, there are bare trees and a blue sky. A microphone with the 'npr' logo is visible. The man is holding a brown jacket and a water bottle in his left hand.

I dreamt of traveling, of helping people. I read Foucault, Guevara and Marx. When someone spoke, I listened. I gave a quarter to every panhandler I met. I believed in change and in people, in the future. I had self-doubts. I wrote (bad) poetry about love and its power to change the world – because, really, that's the only thing we can "have" in our lives. Sex was always loving. My mother held me. I played an acoustic guitar and a bongo. I read the newspaper. My parents were "weird." I wished I was an artist. I enjoyed public radio, liked cats. My car was fuel-efficient, my house modest. I hated authority. I moved from the city into the country for "headspace." I hated to be "normal." I loathed rule followers. I shunned the status quo. I tried to change the world.



My life was simple. I worked hard and got what I deserved. Dad knew best. Football jerseys fit my shoulders nicely. I earned every cent I made. If a war was just, I supported it. Like dad said, you're only an idealist when you're young. I once fired a gun. I won arguments and people called me a "leader." I always gave more than I took, because I learned early on that laziness is the easy road to take - if you want something, you have to work for it. I never whined. I saved for retirement. I dressed well, watched the game and had beers with the boys. I never cried. I knew how to get the job done. I moved from the country into the city. When shit went down, you could count on me. I had your back. I was realistic. I never got carried away.



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The great political, cultural, economic
 and social movement that shaped
 America and world society as a whole
 since the 1960s died in the rubble of
 the World Trade Center. And nobody
 seemed to notice or care. Now, the house
 of cards the American Left's ideological
 beliefs is built upon has collapsed. Their
 faith in tolerance and understanding of
 different cultures is not compatible with
 a war between segments of the Islamic
 world and the West.

What will replace the American Left?
 I don't know. But we'd better find an
 answer soon, or something terrible will
 fill this vacuum. If we continue with our
 current administration's agenda, I see a
 very grim future.

JAMES UREGEN
Honolulu, Hawaii

I protested against the war in Vietnam
 and nuclear power among other things,
 but I finally gave up and left the United
 States 16 years ago. Now I live 4,500
 miles away on a small South Pacific
 island untouched by the outside world.

At the moment, I'm in California
 visiting my sick mother. I see the news,
 read *Adbusters*, and I just watched
Bowling for Columbine. I told my
 mother that if I still lived here I would be
 out in the streets – and with more in my
 hands than a placard this time! Where is
 everyone with a brain, a heart, or a sense
 of moral right and wrong?

JOYCE MAU
via email

This idea hit me in the middle of the
 night. Every revolution starts not with a
 great new leader, but with the very worst
 leader possible: France needed Louis
 XVI. Russia needed Tsar Nikolai II. If
 the change doesn't happen with Bush,
 someone worse will have to come

RYAN LAFLAMME
Toronto, Canada

In September 2003, I had surgery to
 remove a tumor from my throat.
 The day before, I was laid off from my
 temp job. I've lived on social disability
 for a while, but the benefits ended in late
 November 2003. I've now been forced
 to file for unemployment benefits.

Because of this, I haven't been able

to make my car payments, and am now
 subjected to harassment from a robot
 who calls and leaves messages on my
 cell phone. I know the creditors want
 their money, but really, I don't want the
 fucking car!

I'm in lust with my doctor: I finished
 the Oxycodone and now take Vicodin
 with a glass of wine every night while
 I cook dinner listening to the evening
 news on the radio. I want to know when
 we are going to stop *talking* about the
 revolution and *start* it.

MARIE SUZETTE
San Francisco, California

While riding my bike I heard brakes
 squeal and turned to see a car hit an
 old man. I rushed to help him. He was
 laying on the ground bleeding. I took off
 my shirt to slow it down. He was okay,
 but losing a lot of blood.

A group of people gathered around
 us, talking on their cell phones with the
 police. I asked the man if he wanted to
 go to the hospital by ambulance or if he
 just wanted to go in a car. He said he
 was alright and would prefer to travel
 by car. I asked if anyone could take him,
 and nobody would. "Liability," some
 of them mumbled. "You shouldn't even
 touch him."

I reminded them that he would get
 to the hospital faster if someone would
 just drive us, but nobody volunteered.
 Needless to say, several fire engines
 showed up, lots of police, and the
 ambulance which finally took him away.

We have built a society where people
 won't help each other – because they
 don't have the equipment, or aren't
 certified to help. The people there would
 have let this man lay on the ground and
 bleed just so they couldn't be sued. And
 when help showed, it was total overkill.
 Why a fire engine? Why three of them?

I hate this society because I have no
 opportunity to be a kind person. Any
 helping action is either paid for or is
 potential grounds for a lawsuit.

GIL BENMOSHE
via email

Sometimes I think terrorists are wasting
 their time. America is a country that is
 increasingly unhealthy. Corporations
 are putting toxins into our environment.

The food we eat, the air we breathe and the water we drink become more contaminated every day. And for many of us, the contemporary American lifestyle is a disaster. We are having to work longer and harder just to stay afloat, and there is often little time left over for relaxing or playing or taking care of ourselves. At the end of the day, our minds and bodies are left to deal with stresses that no animal can hope to endure.

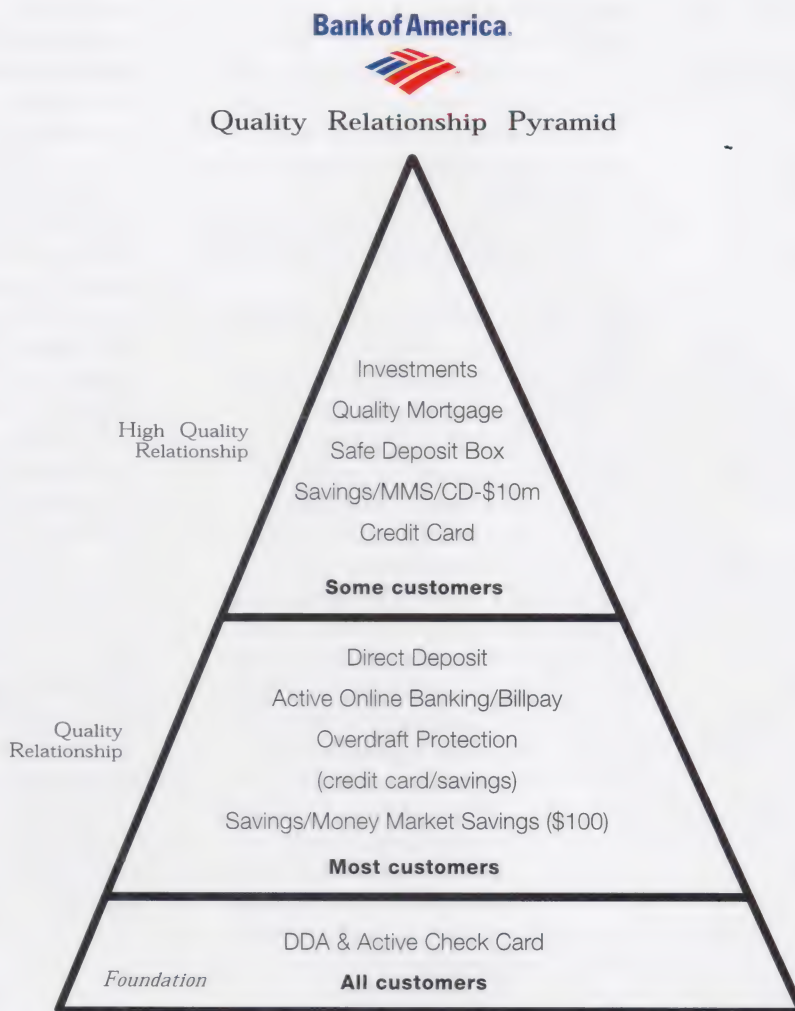
As a result, physical and psychological illnesses of all kinds are on the rise. Obesity, heart disease, depression and anxiety are just a few examples. We have found the most unhealthy way to exist and we have made this the status quo. In a very literal sense, we are killing ourselves more effectively than any terrorist ever could.

CHRIS KNEIFL
Norman, Oklahoma

Your twin towers of military expenditure [Adbusters #50] reminded me of a tour I took at the UN in New York.

As it came to a close, the tour party (mostly US citizens) walked through a hallway toward the rear of the General Assembly building. There, three exhibits were drawn to our attention. First was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, described by our guide as inspiring the Convention on the Rights of the Child. "The US hasn't signed that convention, has it?," I asked, "No, the US is the only one not to," she replied. (Actually, Somalia is the other non-signatory.) Next, a chart displaying how much a small percentage of global military expenditure

could alleviate hunger and other world problems. Not pointed out (as Adbusters has) was that the US, which accounts for nearly half of the world's military budget, could unilaterally provide the world with clean water and shelter. Finally came antipersonnel landmines.



NOTE: The term "Quality Relationships" should not be used with customers. Be sure to position the concept without using the specific term.

BANK OF AMERICA TRAINING MANUAL SENT IN BY ANONYMOUS

This was a display on the tragedy of landmines in war and after, and efforts to eradicate them. It's a shame that the US continues using landmines and setting a poor example by not acceding to the Mine Ban Treaty, but this was not pointed out on the tour.

RICHARD DAVIS
Thorndon, New Zealand

Something strange happened today: the American president came to my city. At 3 am on the morning of his visit, the air was filled with the rumble of fighter jets. They continue to crisscross our sky 14 hours later.

A peaceful city with one of the lowest crime rates in the world, we have been prevented from entering our own Houses of Parliament, walking freely in certain sections of our city and from protesting. I guess that's what we get when our government joins the coalition of the (un)willing.

RICHARD THOMAS
Canberra, Australia

I went to a college football game and the so-called "theme" was Armed Forces Appreciation Day. As we walked though the outer gates of the stadium, there were tanks and jeeps with recruiting booths in front of them. We watched little kids play and climb on the tanks, while their fathers admired the soldiers.

At halftime, about 40 kids were sworn into the Marines as planes flew overhead and guns shot off. Just then, my father leaned toward me and asked if this made me feel patriotic. I looked around, watching everyone cheering for America, and realized the whole thing was one big

advertisement targeting the kids. I never really responded to my father; I just watched in disgust.

BRYAN SEELBACH
Santa Clara, California

I was appalled today. We went to watch the ceremony for turning on our town's Christmas lights, and were shocked to find that the mayor's "special guest" was

one Mr. Ronald McDonald. The stripey-trouserred red-haired clown got a full three minutes of mic time that included terrifying moments, like when he led the crowd (mostly small children with their parents) in six chants of "I'm lovin' it!" Toward the end of his corporate rally, he asked: "Who wants an early Christmas present?" He then handed away two-for-one Happy Meal vouchers.

MARTIN COOTE
Maidstone, United Kingdom

On page 17 of the July 21, 2003 issue of *Time* is an article titled "Iraqi Textbooks: X-ing out Saddam." The story is about removing propaganda from textbooks in Iraq. Turn the page and there is a two-page spread of a car ad with a father lying on a bed with his infant child, reading him the a Nissan Altima owner's manual as a bedtime story. It's great that Iraq can remove Saddam from textbooks. Perhaps we should take a look at what we are reading our own children.

CECIL HYNDY-RIDDLE
Austin, Texas

Seeing the photo of Matthew Barney in Paul Schmeltzer's piece about establishment and "outsider" artists [*Adbusters* #51], I was certain it flagged a thoughtful counterpoint to the "Barney Bandwagon" and would offer critical insight. What a disappointment! The story was all generality and no substance. Schmeltzer bases his condemnation of contemporary art on the work of two artists – Barney and Damien Hirst – apparently without examining either beyond a first glance. Hirst gets dismissed with the

exclamation, "barnyard animals in formaldehyde!"

Beyond the debate about the merits of these two, it is important to know there are many "mainstream" artists who are creating art of social responsibility and criticism. A few of the more well known are Fred Wilson, Martha Rosler, James Luna, Mel Chin, Ida Applebroog, Jimmie Durham, Carrie Mae Weems and Alfredo Jaar. There are also artists' groups such as the Guerilla Girls and Group Material who actively criticize and ridicule the system while promoting positive change.

MARYA ROLAND
Waynesville, North Carolina

Anis Shivani [*Adbusters* #51] declares "faced with practical problems . . . postmodern philosophy is speechless."

While I agree, singling out postmodernism hardly seems appropriate. From its inception, the agoraphobic university ethic has changed little. Ivory towerists have never gotten their hands dirty tweaking the gears of daily life (though the neocons are happy to pull strings from a safe, anonymous distance). I certainly won't hold my breath for the heir of Shivani's deceased postmodernism to alter this tradition. Postmodern practice (e.g. *Adbusters*) is, happily, a different story. The hybridization from a diverse array of ideas, the collapse or at least substantial redefinition of meaning has been mastered by the spin-centers and advertising moguls, but as the Media Carta supplement demonstrates, can be turned against them as well.

NEIL
Lund, Sweden

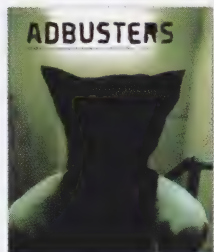
The most recent *Adbusters* article by Anis Shivani on the apparent evils of the postmodern academy was frickin terrible! On the surface, it's another familiar anti-intellectual refrain, pitting the Left against itself, invoking what amounts to a bad (or at least limited) reading of what postmodernism means. I wouldn't feel compelled to respond, but Shivani also levels some pretty serious accusations about the inactivity of postmodern intelligentsia, charging that it has had "nothing to say" about the contemporary situation. The academy has, in fact, said quite a lot about the "new American reality."

Let's go through Shivani's list of no-shows: Cornel West has edited *It's a Free Country: Personal Freedom in America After September 11*; Homi Bhabha has a piece on 9/11 on *artforum.com*'s section on "Reading 9-11-01"; Judith Butler has an article, "Dehumanization via Indefinite Detention"; Fredric Jameson has a piece, "The Dialectics of Disaster"; Gayatri Spivak bothered neocons by talking about 9/11 bombers as displaying "suicidal resistance." And there are scores of articles and books from Noam Chomsky, Bell Hooks, Paul Virilio and Jürgen Habermas to Antonio Negri and David Harvey.

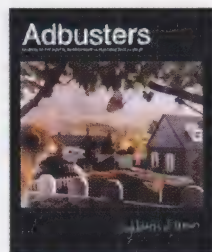
If Shivani wants to debate the ethics and politics of postmodernism and the academy, that's fine; we'll disagree. This argument, however, should not be made by leveling charges that are simply not true.

KIT DOBSON
Toronto, Ontario

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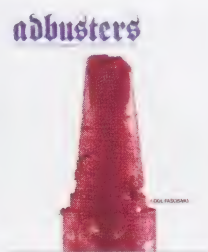
46 Are You in Denial?



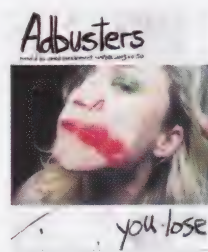
47 Nightmares of Reason



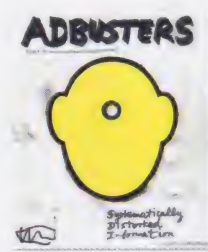
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TOYS 'R' US CATALOGUE, NOVEMBER 2003

WHO NEEDS ADVERTISING IF THE KIDS ARE TRAINED FOR MCJOBS FROM THE START?

CHRIS MOORE
Chicago, Illinois

I've been giving the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) to my 3rd graders this week. I could be fired, possibly arrested for telling you this, but do you want to know what's on the test? Here's one of the questions:

"Why do cities have laws?"

- a. to take people's money
- b. to make leaders powerful
- c. to give police officers jobs
- d. to help people live together

Do you know the "correct" answer? The ITBS isn't testing whether your child knows the three branches of government or how bills become law. No. It's testing whether kids are being indoctrinated the

"patriotic" way. One or two "wrong" answers won't cause alarm; kids are expected to miss a few. But if your child – who faces the same test at 5th and 8th grade – consistently gives "subversive" answers, rest assured, the government knows who you are.

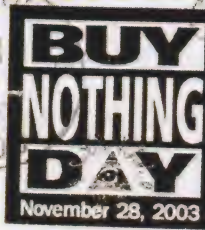
So what else is going on at Patriot Elementary? Some of our students can't hold a pencil. Some of them are severely disabled and autistic. The Bush administration wants us to test all of them. Any student that is away sick during test week is scored zero. Say you hear about the ITBS and stop your child from taking part. Your child will be scored zero.

If a school performs badly in this

test then its funding is cut. How is that going to help it identify and correct its problems? This test isn't made to help poor performing schools. It's to pressure schools to conform. This is a fear-based government scare tactic against its own people.

Of course, if you insist on resisting the ITBS, you might hear: "You want your child to graduate from 3rd grade, don't you?" Schools will say something like this, not because they're evil but because of the extreme pressure they face. Know this: no one can force a child to take the test. Also know: adamant refusal will not go unnoticed.

ANONYMOUS



Since its launch in the Pacific Northwest twelve years ago, Buy Nothing Day has grown into a worldwide celebration of consumer awareness and simple living. Observed on the day after US Thanksgiving—America's busiest shopping day of the year—the campaign has sparked debate and newspaper headlines around the world. People in more than thirty countries have made a pact with themselves and, as a personal experiment and public statement, stepped out of the consumer stream for 24 hours.

Text and stamp and envelope graphics courtesy www.adbusters.org/campaigns/bnd.

00101/3406

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CANADA

I just traveled through eastern Australia, and was happily surprised by the country's ecological awareness. Nearly every tour bus driver made damning references to the ecological problems in Australia and Tasmania; one of the tour bus lines is even named Tasmanian Tiger – a wild dog that vanished after the Europeans arrived. Imagine Greyhound or Brewster calling themselves 'Dodo Express'! Other things, like two-flush toilets everywhere (one for liquids, one for solids), and the hotel that asked us to re-use our towels to reduce detergent effluent going onto the reefs, were quite impressive. It was mentioned often that Oz would be the only place in the world that would actually elect a Green government.

CAREY GLENN RUTHERFORD
Calgary, Alberta

One *Adbusters* (I can't remember which) featured photographs of a city street with all the signage and advertising removed that was eerily peaceful. I showed it to my younger sister and she reacted in the same way. At the time I was reading a book by the daughter of Margaret Mead, and one of its themes was our need for a state of order. One feels peaceful in a

forest, she wrote, not only due to the beauty and calm, but also the natural structural order (like fractals) of the surroundings. The chaos of visual and verbal marketing ruptures this sense of order.

SHARON MCINTYRE
Calgary, Alberta

I had to share this quote with you that I read from Tom Robbins' *Half Asleep in Frog Pyjamas*:

"The lie of progress. The lie of unlimited expansion. The lie of 'grow or perish.' Listen. We built ourselves a fine commercial bonfire, but then instead of basking in warmth, toasting marshmallows over it, and reading the classics by its light, we became obsessed with making it bigger and hotter, bigger and hotter, until, if the flames didn't leap higher from one quarter to the next, it was cause for great worry and dissatisfaction. Well any Bozo on the riverbank could have told us that if you keep feeding and feeding and feeding a bonfire, sooner or later you burn up all the fuel and the fire goes down cold; or else the fire gets too huge to manage and eventually engulfs the countryside and chars the inhabitants. Nature has always

set limits on growth: limits on the physical size of individual species, limits on the size of populations. Did we really believe capitalism was exempt from the laws of nature? Did we really confuse endless consumption with endless progress?"

Keep on keepin' on.

ROBYN AVICH
via email

I've been reading about the corruption of ideology in America from the Revolution to the Civil War. This country has never been what it purports to be — a freedom-loving bastion of human rights. It's been about who can get the richest the fastest. The reason we're not hearing from the Left is because the mainstream media has been usurped by the Right. This usurpation, incidentally, is an example of the grey area where democracy and capitalism are incompatible. The public sphere function we mistakenly gave to private interests (the media) is hijacked by the agenda of profit.

Where is the Left? I think they're milking their goats at their commune in southwestern France. I wish I was there.

DOUG HARVEY
Lawrence, Kansas

Adbusters #51 has an article on the coming radio frequency information tag [RFID]. Companies will be planting chips in products they sell to keep track of buyers interests, as well as personal info. In other words, Big Brother will have his on eye on us. I exhort you, *Adbusters*, to tell us that eventually, we all will be implanted with microchips. Think not? This chip is already available for our pets. We will love this chip! Think of it. No more credit card fraud or missing children. Just swipe your arm across the scanner at Wal-Mart and *voila*, your purchases are debited from your account.

GRANT
email

The most frightening thing about our culture is our ability to take astounding events and make them "normal." Armed guards are placed on aircraft carriers protecting us from invisible enemies; New Year's Eve celebrations in Times Square and Las Vegas are chaperoned by hundreds of Air Force gunships and snipers and this is all "normal."

In his *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* series, Douglas Adams created a character, Wonko the Sane, who decided the whole world was insane, so he built an asylum to house it in. I'm wondering if he might have had the right idea.

BRUCE LAMBIE
Lennoxville, Quebec

I love *Adbusters*! Despite the repeated gloom, sour, ugly and pathetic words – and the images (and proof) inside – your underlying (and often silent) message is positive: *We're alive!*

LISA BANCROFT
Amsterdam, Netherlands

Dear *Adbusters*: If you could take this quote from Arthur Schopenhauer's 1819 book, *Will and Representation*, and, on the same page, have the picture of the guy eating, it would be superb. This quote might be a bit too deterministic, aloof and maybe even unrelated to the message you want to send – but I see the picture and think 'this is the fundamental base of consumption.' Then I read the quote and it puts it in context: it's absurd.



"In endless space countless luminous spheres, round each of which some dozen smaller illuminated ones revolve, hot at the core and covered with a hard cold crust; on this crust a moldy film has produced living and knowing beings: this is empirical truth, the real, the world. Yet for a being who thinks, it is a precarious position to stand on one of those numberless spheres freely floating in boundless space, without knowing whence and whither, and to be only one of innumerable similar beings that throng, press, and toil, restlessly and rapidly arising and passing away in beginningless and endless time. Here there is nothing permanent but matter alone, and the recurrence of the same varied organic forms by means of certain ways and channels that inevitably exist as they do."

SEAN FREEMAN
Southern Oregon

Letters
editor@adbusters.org



It was pure war porn. Three American soldiers standing proudly, half-smiles playing on their faces, rifles cradled in their arms.

The picture screams, "We are young, good looking and we are your heroes. Don't you admire us? Look at us."

In its 2003 award for Person Of The Year, *Time* magazine used the US's fighting men and women to bestow something noble onto the American mission in Iraq.

"They are the face of America, its might and goodwill, in a region unused to democracy," blares the caption inside. Of course, it doesn't mention the millions of dollars in compensation given out by the US military administration for wrongful killing of Iraqi civilians by its soldiers, stressed, scared, jumping at shadows, dealing with a mess foreseen by everyone but their political masters. Nor does it question whether this was the right thing to do. The heroism of the soldier drowns out that question.

Slapped with four coats of whitewash and a topcoat of hogwash, the cover story declares: "In a year when it felt at times as if we had nothing in common anymore, we were united in this hope: that our men and women at arms might soon come safely home, because their job was done." Who could argue with that?

It's almost as if *Time* suspended judgment and reviewed a video game or film. "You had a pretty remarkable ground war: 21 days covering 350 miles, around 200,000 troops. Probably the fastest advance of its kind in military history," said Ramesh Ratnesar, *Time* writer, on a CNN special on the award. The rot goes all the way to the top. Who said: "They're cops in a bad neighborhood; [that] is what the occupation of Iraq is about." James Kelly, *Time*'s managing editor.

The Mindfuck of the year.

MINDFUCKERS

WHITE NOISE

You know you've gone down the rabbit hole when you watch the daily neocon media message. In hundreds of cable and talk-radio shows, newspaper columns, dozens of books (and Fox News Channel) the cry is similar: liberals control everything. What's wrong with the picture? The Bush administration repeated, ad nauseam, ("no question") that Saddam and al Qaeda were linked. Then a US newspaper poll found that 69 percent believed them. Colin Powell admitted in January there was no "concrete evidence" for the claim. But while the media should be holding Bush accountable, they act like unquestioning cheerleaders for his policies.

So why the overkill from the likes of Ann Coulter, Sean Hannity and Rush Limbaugh? The pretense of an overwhelming liberal media bias. It is essential for the Right's attack dogs to achieve their objective of eliminating mainstream debate in culture and thought. They've already achieved it in economics. By casting themselves as the underdog standing up to the bully, they play to a potent cultural signifier: the little guy doing what's right, Jimmy Stewart struggling for survival.

Here's how they do it:

First, the message must be simple. Coulter's giddy, grubby invective rises and falls, though mostly rises,

until you're swept away in a torrent of Righteousness. The answer to 9/11? According to her, "we should invade their countries, kill their leaders, and convert them to Christianity." Easy! Global warming is a con. Tax cuts are always good. Black is white and might is right.

Second, appeal to emotion.

Goebbels, inventor of The Big Lie, said: "The masses need something that will give them a thrill." Accordingly, they don't argue with facts, but instead, insubstantiate prejudices. Liberals are really evil and call people names, Republicans are really nice, the media is teeming with liberals. God bless America no matter what.

Third, portray dissent as treachery.

"Judging by their positions at the time, rather than their post hoc allegations, Democrats adored the Soviet Union," Coulter writes in her bestseller, *Treason*, with a thrilling disregard for either evidence or logic. Along with other members of the divine Right, she identifies her views (war-war not jaw-jaw) with her country and thus colonizes patriotism: if you disagree, you're damning your country.

What's the end game? If we can't out-argue the neocons, their way will become the only way. They can rule us like kings.

Mark White





POOR CONRAD

Conrad Black wants you to call him 'Lord Black' of Crossharbour. He's got the aristocrat act down, too, with a fleet of cars, corporate jets, posh pads in four cities and a Right wing columnist wife bedecked in the jewels. But he realizes his affinity for excess isn't everyone's cup of tea. Commenting on his \$18 million mansion in Palm Beach, Black noted: "Some people

are offended by the extreme opulence, but I find it sort of entertaining."

As CEO of newspaper giant Hollinger, Black had plenty of cashflow to feed his expensive tastes. He also enjoyed prestige, commanding the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Jerusalem Post*, and

Britain's leading paper, *The Daily Telegraph*. But this past fall, Black was forced to relinquish his CEO title after shareholders caught him squirreling away millions of Hollinger dollars. And because of the breadth of his empire, Black's comeuppance got global media play.

Nowhere was that more true than in his native Canada. Though he has been divesting Canadian holdings in the past few years, in the 1990s Black controlled 60 percent of the country's newspapers and dominated the Canadian mindscape. His acquiescent editors obediently pushed conservative visions that didn't mesh with mainstream opinion. Canadians refused to be duped, however, and have spurned Black's Right wing attempt at a national daily, the *National Post*.

In Canada, there were no tears shed when Black got caught with his hand in Hollinger's piggy bank. Instead, there was a surge of *schadenfreude* among Canadians, still dealing with his legacy – a mindfucking assault on nonpartisan journalism.

KNIFESTYLES MONTHLY

In early 1989, Naomi Wolf started to have horrible nightmares. During the days she completed the final rewrite of *The Beauty Myth*. The book argued that while women in the 20th century were gaining economic and political power, they were being manipulated into a harmful quest to achieve an unattainable vision of physical beauty.

During the night she dreamed of a magazine designed to convince young women to have cosmetic surgery. Each morning she awoke with a scream. Her nightmare eventually mindfucked her daytime world. In 2001 *Elevate: The Cosmetic Enhancement Magazine* was born.



UNCOOL PERIOD

"Seasonale", a new "lifestyle" birth control pill that makes women have only four periods a year, was approved by the FDA, allowing maker Barr Laboratories access to the multi-billion dollar birth control industry. Touted as a breakthrough for women (*Time* named Seasonale one of its "Coolest Inventions of 2003"), the idea of suppressing menstruation blossomed in the 1999 book, *Is Menstruation Obsolete?* In it, Brazilian researcher Elsimar Coutinho contends that modern women (living longer, having fewer babies) have too many periods. The "natural" solution for this "unnatural" state? Suppress the cycle with – naturally! – synthesized hormones.

What will result from viewing menstruation as a medical condition? And how long before taking a pill becomes as much a part of teenage girlhood as applying antiperspirant? "I really have no trouble believing that menstruation would become a gross thing," says Christine Hitchcock, researcher at the University of British Columbia. Ultimately, she says, adolescent girls could be mindfucked into taking Seasonale "because everyone thinks menstruation isn't cool."

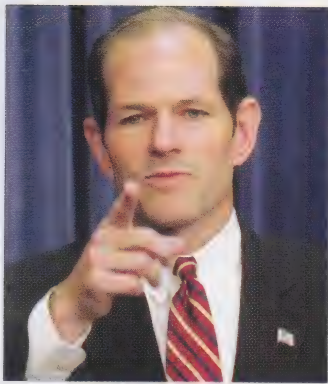
LIVE-IN HUCKSTER

Ad execs were fainting in October. The reason? Digital video recorders. Remote controls allow viewers to flip channels once ads hit the screen. But Peter Sealey, CEO of marketing giant Los Altos Group, warned that DVRs will let viewers bypass them entirely. He told a shocked advertisers conference that consumers "will have the power, if they choose, not to watch your television commercials."

Oh no! But as hucksters fell from their chairs, Sealey announced a new hope. Technology being developed by the Association of National Advertisers in the US could create ID codes for every TV, print and radio ad. Combined with radio frequency ID tags (RFID) on products, and new technology delivering TV signals, the system could allow marketers to tailor specific messages to you. How? By detecting radio signals from products

inside your house.

Privacy intrusions are messy. So, advertisers must sell the idea, said Peter Swain of MediaCom Worldwide, "that privacy is an evolving thing." The "benefits" must be sold. Benefits? Targeted advertising will cut ad-clutter by making ads more effective. "People will be thrilled to know [that] finally the junk mail will stop."



GOOD ON YA, SPITZ!

Eliot Spitzer seems too good to be true. The radical New York attorney general has already gone after gun manufacturers, air polluters and corrupt Wall Street financiers. Now his scope is set on another loathed target: spam. While everyone can agree that unsolicited emails are wildly aggravating, legislators have done little to ban the scourge. In the meantime, Spitzer is confident he can nail spammers with existing laws. He and Microsoft have filed joint lawsuits against

a cabal of online marketing companies after 'spam traps' set by Microsoft attracted 8,000 spam messages containing 40,000 fraudulent statements. Spitzer intends to fine the companies \$500 for every forged sender name, false subject line, fake server name, inaccurate and misrepresented sender address, and obscured transmission path. The total bill could top \$20 million, leading Spitzer to confidently assert that "we will drive them into bankruptcy."

TV STRIKE

Organizers of a national TV viewers strike in Italy are predicting a country-wide turn-off within three years. Activist group Esterni claims 400,000 people spurned a weekend's worth of primetime last December in favour of visiting museums, galleries and bars, where it had negotiated discounts and, in one case, free cocktails. Participation in the strike was validated by producing a working TV remote. "Let's say the truth, this television is disgusting," declares Esterni's website. The next strike takes place this June, and it is aiming for a million TV refuseniks. Participation has increased phenomenally – from 1,000 people in Milan in 1995 to 110,000 in 2002. At the current growth rate 26 million people will turn-off their TVs on Saturday, December 16, 2006 between 8:30 pm and 10:30 pm.

MINDHEALERS

LINK TV

With major US networks fighting over who has the most insane reality show, it's no surprise that Americans are in a bit of a fog when it comes to global affairs. One national network striving to change that is San Francisco's Link TV. Launched in 1999, Link fills its slate with documentaries, international news, world music and participatory programs promoting citizen action. It's currently only available on satellite, but nevertheless can be seen in one in five American homes.

Most of Link's programming has never been seen in the US. Instead of sitcoms and reports on the latest celebrity divorce, viewers are treated to documentaries that shed light on issues like Afghanistan after the US invasion. There are also conversations between youth from around the world and music videos by artists from more than 70 countries. Perhaps Link's most unique fare, however, is Mosaic, a daily program that translates TV news reports from 15 Middle Eastern countries to English to provide Americans with a rare insight into the region's perspectives. Maybe that's what George Bush was watching when he choked on a pretzel.

KIMCHI

OhmyNews is a precocious internet-based newspaper that's changing the way journalism is done in South Korea. Not only is it subverting the traditional conservative bent of South Korean media, but it's doing so with the help of 26,000 'citizen reporters.' These newsies are engaged readers who send in stories on any number of topics in exchange for \$20 and the thrill of seeing their name in print.

The results are impressive. OhmyNews has one- to three-million readers a day and played a major role in the election of the current president, Roh Moo-hyun. To show his gratitude, Roh saved his first post-election interview for OhmyNews, snubbing the three major conservative newspapers that have dominated the print journalism scene for years.



There is nothing more mysterious or attractive than the human body. Soon to head on a world tour, this exposition in Santiago, Chile, called 'La Fiesta Del Cuerpo' (celebration of the body), not only captivates the body's beauty but flaunts its every flaw. Roughly 5,000 images celebrate its extraordinary capacity of transformation. The exhibit features obese, anorexic, wrinkled, pregnant, even deformed bodies, and one artist features hermaphrodites and sex changes.

'Cuerpos Pintados' (painted bodies) is an experimental artistic project that explores the body's diversity. Its main objective is to stimulate a new perception, free from prejudices, to encourage the appreciate and respect that all bodies deserve. It is a collaboration between painters, musicians, photographers and cinematographers, writers, medics, dancers and historians. It left me spellbound.

Jen Ross

LILLY SUICIDES REDUX

JULIE WOODWARD HAD TO TAKE DRUGS OR SHE WOULDN'T GET help. The antidepressants were a compulsory part of a two-week group therapy program the 17-year-old was attending at a nearby clinic; she was feeling down after a break-up and going through problems at home. So on day three of the program, she began with 50mg of Zoloft, a drug from the class of antidepressants called SSRIs. Her parents were assured that the Zoloft was "essential treatment" and "very benign."

That night Julie and her mother had a fight and Julie shoved her mother, an act that was, according to her parents, very aggressive and out of character. During the next few days, Julie became more restless and even more withdrawn. On day seven, as reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on January 4, her father found her dead, her body hanging in the garage.

Today, SSRI antidepressants represent about \$8 billion in annual sales, so much cash that a drug company can literally bankroll itself with the sales of a single SSRI. But just as having an SSRI on the market can make a company, it can also break it. "A troublesome side effect early in the life of a new compound can lead to the demise of a company," writes psychiatrist David Healy in his new book, *Let Them Eat Prozac*. "If the side effect can be portrayed as a feature of the disease being treated – for example, suicid[e] on an antidepressant – what would a company do if the alternative is to go down the tubes? This is the ethical dilemma that has faced all of the SSRI companies."

As this scenario makes clear, we should not assume that the needs of a drug company are necessarily in sync with the needs of the general public. This is why we expect research to determine the risks and benefits of drugs, and regulatory agencies to evaluate the quality of this research. But as Healy also points out, public money for independent research on such Rx drugs disappeared in the 1970s, leaving researchers at the mercy of drug companies to keep their research alive. "Industry [pays] clinical investigators up to \$5,000 per patient entered in a study, and look[s] with favor on investigators who [manage] to produce the right results."

One investigator who can "produce the right results" is Karen Wagner from the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Texas. Recently, Wagner and her colleagues published a study concluding it's safe to give the SSRI Paxil to children – a conclusion that British drug authorities later rejected, noting that the same study shows children to be at risk for suicide when on the drug. Not to be dissuaded, Wagner led another study, this time with the SSRI that Julie Woodward took: Zoloft. After Wagner reported that it too is safe for kids, British drug authorities found, again, that the study actually shows children to be at risk for suicide. In fact, late in 2003, British drug authorities said antidepressants except Prozac

should not be prescribed to under-18s.

These moves by the Brits notwithstanding, it should be stressed that even drug regulators are hesitant to act in our defense. As was reported on March 26, 2003, in *The Guardian*, the recent actions taken in Britain actually stem, albeit indirectly, from undue drug company influence. After an initial "expert team" was created to evaluate Paxil's safety in children (in Britain), it came out later that half of the "experts" had substantial shareholdings in its manufacturer. The original team was sacked and a new expert group put in place to conduct the review that led to the near ban on SSRI use in children.

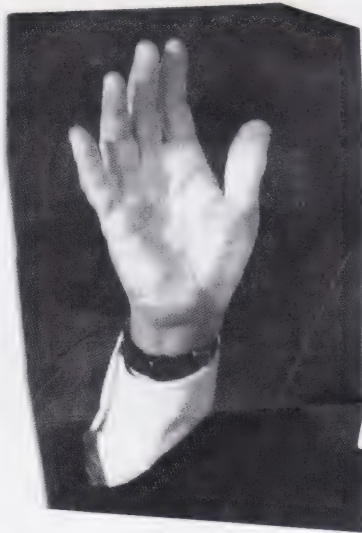
Meanwhile, the FDA with a near ban on SSRI use in children now in place in Britain, the FDA, the medical establishment, and the media remain in near steadfast denial. On December

16, the *New York Times*' pro-industry science writer, Erica Goode, wrote a near-total defense of the antidepressants ("British Ignite Debate in U.S. on Drugs and Suicide"), never acknowledging the issue that looms largest in the wake of the latest SSRI setbacks: given that they produce emotional disturbances and suicidal thinking in some children and adolescents, what are we to conclude about a decade's worth of near-identical complaints regarding antidepressants by adults? Are we to believe that patients' families, doctors, and researchers drew a false connection between SSRI and suicide (and other violence) throughout the 1990s, only to have a real connection discovered with pediatric use a decade later? As told in *Adbusters* in "The Lilly Suicides"

<www.prozacspotlight.org/lilly/>, this is no coincidence: cases may be relatively rare but they are no accident. (David Healy estimates that thousands of suicides have taken place that would never occurred had non-SSRI antidepressants been used instead.) Just as SSRI use in children has been all but banned, so should they be in adults.

We might hope that physicians bent on medicalizing depression and other problems of modern life would start relying on other, safer drugs, at least when drugging children. But this isn't necessarily so. The one SSRI not constrained by the recent warnings is Prozac, protected by the historical accident that it received regulatory approval for use with kids prior to the regulatory scandal in Britain. And the irony is not a good one: it has long been clear that Prozac is the worst of all SSRIs in producing the restlessness and agitation that have led to self-mutilation, suicide and murder with kids as well as with adults.

Richard DeGrandpre has a PhD in psychopharmacology and is author of Ritalin Nation (1999) and Digitopia (2001). He is also a glassblower. <www.visitmyglass.com>



THE MOOD ON CAMPUS



FINAL EXAMS ARE UNDERWAY AT THE University of Colorado at Boulder but between the cram sessions, 40-or-so students find time to attend the semester's last College Republican meeting. Brad Jones, the group's 20-year-old president, confidently approaches the lectern – his t-shirt proudly displays a man chucking the United Nations' emblem into the garbage, and pinned Patton-like to the wall behind him is the American flag that he brings to every meeting. He speaks to the group with easy humor, and has good reason to smile: during his short term at the helm of the CU College Republicans (usually not a popular position in Boulder, a Left wing college town), the group's membership has exploded by 500 percent.

This growth is typical on American campuses. *The Economist* reports that

College Republicans have tripled their membership in the past three years, "recruiting 22,000 new members in 2002 alone"; the number of chapters has also ballooned, from 409 to 1,148.

The rocketing numbers echo polls that chart the political views of college students – and young Americans in general – taking a pronounced shift right. At traditionally liberal campuses, where Bush-bashing is almost an institution, the shift is a shock to the system. These new Right wing 'activists,' who rabidly defend the Republican president against criticism, are locking horns with their liberal professors. Things could get ugly.

As they'll tell you, they're angry, they're organized – and they're looking to upend the status quo. Drawn to conservatism as much as to just being "anti-liberal," they've been dubbed the 'Hipublicans' by *The New York Times*. To others they're simply the 'New Right.' They don't fit the suit-wearing, business-card swapping stereotype of College

Republicans of the past. Instead, many are middle-classes wearing average 20-something garb of spiky hair, goatees and faded jeans.

Jones fits this new mold: his family is definitely middle-class. And though he says he was influenced by his father's conservatism, it wasn't until he came to ultra-progressive Boulder that he was drawn to Republican politics. "This university has made me more conservative," he says. "I didn't come to CU thinking I'd be some crusader, I thought I'd be some rock-climbing hippie."

He says he felt persecuted for his new political beliefs by professors who ridiculed conservative viewpoints – a sentiment often repeated by Republican students. This prompted him to get involved, but he says the student government system was also stacked against alternative (conservative, that is) ideologies. "The establishment in Boulder says that they encourage dissent, but what they really mean is dissent that they agree with."

Having trouble swallowing patriotic Republicans as those being

“marginalized”? Get used to it.

In schools across the US, voices are screaming liberal-bias at <www.noindoctrination.org>, a web-forum where students list names of professors they say ignore dissenting views or forward, as one student put it, a “liberal anti-American agenda.”

In Colorado, the bias card has been thrown to the forefront by David Horowitz, a conservative political writer known among liberals for his anti-slavery reparations efforts. Horowitz, whose Academic Bill of Rights seeks to protect conservative students and faculty from so-called political persecution (and whose speeches routinely degenerate into shouting matches), has found a devoted audience in Colorado among conservative students and Republican lawmakers. He was one of the radical figureheads of the New Left during the '60s, but pole vaulted the political spectrum, landing on the far Right in the 1980s.

Perhaps more than anyone, he understands how to manipulate the subtleties of the extremes. Standard thinking says that conservatives assume superiority because they feel their common sense trumps everybody else's while liberals assume their superiority because they feel their morality trumps everybody else's. Horowitz has exploited the liberal myth (those intellectual Rapunzels more interested in theory than the real world) by re-shaping it into a weapon that he uses against the Left's intellectual support base.

After private meetings with Horowitz, the state senate is currently toying with the possibility of introducing legislation requiring that academic institutions “ensure academic diversity.” Democrats are labeling this as yet another power-grab by Republicans – a mind-bending role-reversal: now, it's

the Right that shouts discrimination and demands change to the oppressive power structure, while the Left dismisses this as oversensitivity and cries foul at government regulation seen as intrusive and impractical. This highlights how Right wing strategists have, in recent years, embedded conservative thought into liberal campus culture by casting young Republicans as – get this! – victims of the system. Republican Davids battling a massive Left wing Goliath? “There's a certain excitement at being the underdog,” Jones says.

With the meeting in full swing, he energetically speaks about one of his favorite extracurricular activities: pissing off liberals. The audience responds with a storm of suggestions: a pro-Palestinian exhibit in the library must be removed. Flood the email in-box of a campus administrator – whose personal office displays an American flag “defaced” with African colors. Then Jones suggests an event that has been happening on numerous campuses – an “Affirmative

Action Bake Sale” where white students are charged more than minority students for the same items. The crowd goes wild.

Later, Jones explains that the Campus Republican's goal is not only to screw with liberals, but to wage a kind of ideological jujitsu: use the momentum of your opponent, in this case Left wing anger, to expose how irrational he is. Then as he lays weakened on the ground, gain some momentum of your own. “Well, either you're going to love us or you're going to hate us. And even if you hate us,” he says, “at least we're going to get good press coverage.”

Jared Jacang Maher's work has appeared in the Chicago Reader and several underground publications. He is an editor of Life and Limb, an anthology by skateboarders published by Soft Skull Press.

- > In an America few can remember, the Left was sexy (or at least sexier than the Right).
- > These days the liberal movement is a shadow of its once wild self. Over time the Left became marginalized, artificial and (dare I say) out of touch.
- > Liberal leaders used to be pretty fucking hard: L.B.J. was a son of a bitch who wouldn't hesitate to whip it out (he conducted meetings on the toilet); F.D.R. had an affair when he couldn't walk. These were real men. And I'm not talking machismo.
- > There was sex in the party, in the ideology. I'm not even going to mention J.F.K.
- > Then politics got smoothed-over. People worried the '60s had been empty and self-indulgent. The drugs were wearing off.
- > Enter Jimmy Carter, the Mister Rogers president. No one could attack this guy's character. He was clean, unexciting and incompetent. Remember his *Playboy* interview? He considered adultery as having thoughts about another woman. With Carter came the image of Lefties as soft, book-smart whiners. They were not the activists of decades past (who once scared the shit out of conservatives), but idealists removed from the “real” world.
- > The Left stalled when it lost its sexiness: think Jimmy Carter in a cardigan sweater.
- > He never lied to the people, but he never inspired them, either. Most of the time he was paralyzed with boredom. Clinton failed the Left by spreading himself too thin.
- > (He was too obsessed with polls and as a result he stood for nothing.) His presidency was oversexed — what little remains of it is now a stain on a blue Gap dress.
- >

Adam Cirucci

"No natural aging is allowed in Disneyland. ...Everything must be artificial so that this more intense feeling of reality can be achieved."

"I am willing to overlook frat boy behavior from 30 years ago."

A SLAP IN THE FACE OF THE LEFT

"Most guys have done dopey things with women."

People are never going to listen to some shriveled Chomsky-esque intellectual when they can cheer for a giant action-movie hero instead

Fifteen women, all of them nobodies, had some nerve thinking they could shut the gates on Arnold's Tomorrowland just when the entire country was having a blast.

One woman in the crowd shouted, "He can grope me!"



CLOCKWISE: FRANCIS SPICKEL / EPA; LUCY NICHOLSON / REUTERS; FRANK BIRCKHEAD / EPA; ROBYN BECK / AP



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FOR OVER A CENTURY**



Gillette

FROM DRILL MAGAZINE, NOV./DEC. 2003

...WALLOWING IN SELF DOUBT

DYNAMIC, EXPANSIONIST AMERICA LOOKS set to become the Athens of our global age. Europe? It's swimming in self-doubt at the moment. Call back later.

Like Sparta, Europe guards its "paradise" from any external vulgarities (those being American) and envisions a perfect society of cultural standardization. But like Sparta, Europe's parochial stance could lead to sterility and meaninglessness. Philosophy, art, mathematics and democracy all came from the open dynamism of Athens. Meanwhile, the cultural decadence of Sparta produced no poets, painters or buildings worth mention.

Today the Right is rampaging and making war. And naturally, eyes are looking toward Europe's Left-leaning leadership for the rational response. Sad, really, because they're not interested. European politicians shrug their shoulders and turn their backs to the world. Instead of dealing with Righty bravado in America, in Israel, Europe deals with itself – crafting its constitution, talking soft-power and "universal exceptionalism" as it goes. Then, having done all it possibly can, Europe retires to bed with a glass of cognac and wishes the world well. Bush? He's fighting a global war on "terror."

Chirac and Schröder? They glare down their noses, mumble empty rhetoric, then return to the Union-building business like sleepy bureaucrats.

It's no surprise that Europe's good ideas for the world – social justice, human rights and ethical international institutions – are mostly ignored in America. After all, they're not communicated in the new international language of bravado. As Nicolas Baverez writes, France's diplomatic policy is really "a lot of noise, for nothing." Rather than pinning Bush down, Europe is content to whine, wallow and hate – not only America, but also itself. As it builds the supra-national EU constitution peppered with laws that take political correctness to new heights, Europe is becoming increasingly unsure of its place in the world.

France seems the most paranoid, referred to recently as Europe's "weakest link." Baverez, a French economist, writes in *La France Qui Tombe* ("France in Free Fall") that the United States suffered the chaos of terror and then acted. "France's position has been exactly the reverse: it doesn't start with

the idea that everything must change so that nothing changes, but rather that the more things change, the less France ought to change . . . This immobility is political, economic and social, as well as intellectual and moral; it has plunged France into decline."

Fearing France's malaise could spread across the continent, some intellectuals want to bring brawn back to Europe. In *The New World Disorder*, French philosopher Tzvetan Todorov writes that Europe cannot place contentment before everything else. "You must be able to defend your values," he says.

But self-doubt and a refusal to look beyond the EU seem ingrained in Europe today, post-Bush, post-Iraq, post-"war-on-terror." The international influence of the EU's laws – what's being called Europe's "passive aggression" – appears like confused fantasy compared with the real effects the US has on global life.

It's time for Europe to break the pomo spell.

Jonathan Bronson





Look, the problem with the progressive left activists in this country is that all they do is talk to each other. I went to a seminar at an East Coast college and all these middle-class women were talking about bridge-building between progressives and activists and socialists, and they wanted to build a bridge to the mainstream press. I said, "It's irredeemable. Don't waste your time. First of all, stop calling it mainstream. Start calling *your* press mainstream and call the other alternative."

I said, "Look, I'm not going to give you advice on what to do. I'm a journalist. But if you want to reach out to people, stop talking to each other in your privileged little room."

— Robert Fisk



Noam Chomsky has been around for a long time and inspires a lot of people.

His best-selling books and the film *Manufacturing Consent* energize campuses around the world. He campaigns tirelessly, endlessly. He revolutionized linguistic theory and travels the world giving sold-out speeches against global capitalism. He is ferociously clever, holding 22 honorary degrees, and is likely the biggest living resource on the darker side of American foreign policy. Perhaps that's why *The New Yorker* recently described him as the "Devil's accountant."

I caught him being interviewed on PBS's *Charlie Rose* show last December. After 45 minutes of crisp back and forth, during which Chomsky displayed his legendary recall of detailed facts, figures and debating prowess, a telling moment came when Charlie suddenly paused, looked him in the eye for a few long seconds, and said, "You know everything, don't you?"

For one delicious moment, Noam's intellectual armour dissolved, a nervous, boyish grin spread across his face and – my god, is it possible? – for ten seconds he was lost for words. Here was a man who has been called America's #1 intellectual . . . who can reel off myriad info about Vietnam, Grenada, Iraq and Nicaragua . . . who has deftly analyzed every political event that has come along for the past 30 years and placed it neatly into his ironclad paradigm . . . but he couldn't quite cope with being asked for something more, something human. The limits of his logic world had been reached.

Marc Flynn

There is a prissy whiney ring to the political speech of the Left. Their idea of 'attack' words? Republicans are "insensitive," "offensive" and "hurtful." This language of bruised feelings and fragile natures grates at the ears of most male voters. It turns off a lot of female voters, too.

As for the language of political correctness, the attack word here is "inappropriate." That sounds like something you'd say trying not to appear "judgmental." You can just imagine bony fingers pointing when you hear it. "Inappropriate! Inappropriate!"

Combine the two and you get a party and a political group that reminds people of their first husband or wife – the one who was always telling them what they were doing wrong.

Jonathan Rowe

LEFTIES DON'T HAVE THE GUTS TO THINK RADICAL THOUGHTS ANYMORE

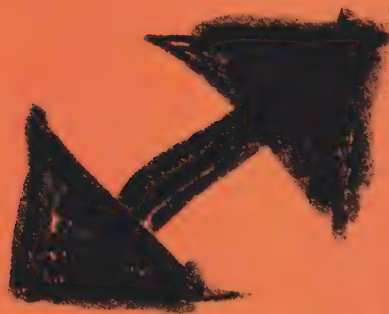
GVIS

corporate kills

ANTI-LOGO

3 strikes
and your out

true-cost
pricing



Seattle, 1999: From within the smoke and gas, a protest movement emerges with an invigorated sense of purpose. Tear gas canisters and riot gear can no longer stop the protesters' innovative resistance. Thick crowds of people executing carefully planned "direct action" campaigns outwit cops and prevent delegates from even leaving their hotels. Some call this a "beehive" or "swarming" strategy; others name it "smart mobbing." Its success is borne of its flexibility and decentralized, horizontal structure. Engaged in battle on the street, its leader becomes a multi-headed hydra, impossible to decapitate. The various affinity groups within the beehive make decisions by consensus, but ultimately, no one is pressured to conform. Police don't know how to react to the swarm: they understand power through centralized organization. The WTO talks buckle at the knees. Victory. On the streets where the state's monopoly of legitimate violence gives it the upper hand, the "beehive" subverts the system.

Quebec City, 2001: Far from the frontlines of the FTAA summit demonstration, the streets hum loudly with protest. Wafts of gas arrive on the wind, watering eyes and stinging noses. A group of 100 protesters sits on the street in a circle, and three blocks away, an ominous line of cops dressed in dark green riot gear and gas masks, walking in unison, advances on them. Heads turn among the group noticing the advance. They decide they must move fast. A guy with a bandana covering his face stands and shouts: "Okay, we either go down to the security fence or move back and collect ourselves. Let's take a vote." As the yes side and the no side raise their hands in turn, another "leader" stands, shouting: "No. We need to move to the west, to the old part of the city where the shit is really going down. Let's take a vote." As this happens, another person interrupts them, adding his voice into the melee of indecision in this streetside parliament. His diatribe is capped off with, "Let's take a vote." The cops move closer; the random interruptions, voting and chaos continues. The protesters remain, shouting, sitting in a circle, searching desperately for consensus. They are easy targets for the cops, who have now arrived.



During labor talks with United Airlines a few years back, pilot rep Rick Dubinsky characterized his negotiating philosophy in these terms: "We don't want to kill the golden goose. We just want to choke it by the neck until it gives us every last egg." With United now in bankruptcy protection, you have to wonder if Dubinsky was truly representing the interests of his members, never mind the general public. While polls in the US show that the average person is generally supportive of unions, the myopic antics of confrontational labor leaders like Dubinsky do plenty to foster cynicism. Where are the contemporary examples of Mother Jones and Cesar Chavez? Union members often come across as a self-serving and exclusionary bunch too concerned with their own interests to advance the cause of workers in general. There is no shortage of people with their own story about how unreasonable union tactics hurt them personally. Union members need to look in the mirror and do some soul-searching. Are they only concerned with themselves, or do they want to reclaim the mantle of their predecessors who improved society across the board? It's time they got their shit together.

Michael Moore, Michael Moore: I have some mixed feelings. Like Chomsky, you've done some wonderful work. Like Chomsky, you're one of the prominent American Lefty heroes that we activists can look up to. (I remember when you made Tucker Carlson tremble and squirm on *Crossfire*. That was balls. That was passion. That was your big "f"-you to that Right wing twit.)

But.

You've changed. Where's that vulnerable Lefty filmmaker I fell in love with all those years ago? These days, you play fast and loose with the facts. Carelessness pervades much of your writing and makes your arguments less believable

Above all, there's this sense that underneath the bravado and that ball cap that you're a showman and an ego tripper who loves the limelight more than you love changing the world.

Here's one wish: in a few years time we will have not just you, Chomsky, Zinn and Klein, but a dozen new young activists prancing around the American political mindscape. I hope you agree.

Tess Reinhardt



It's no contest. Conservatives dominate public policy debates in the US these days. And much of their success can be attributed to heavyweight think tanks like the Heritage Foundation and American Enterprise Institute. So where is the Left wing counterpoint? Bill Clinton's former chief of staff John Podesta hopes his new Center for American Progress will level the playing field and steer the political discussion away from the right. He has \$10 million, a staff of 60, and plenty of profile, but does his think tank have anything innovative to say?

Podesta is the quintessential Democrat Party insider. He has already said that he doesn't intend to push any ideas that might offend a key liberal constituency. It's hard to imagine how such inhibition will allow the center to capture the public's attention. Right wing think tanks are successful in part because they have never been shy about criticizing Republican orthodoxy. The center could use a dose of their "screw the establishment" audacity.

It's not fair to single out Podesta, however. The Democratic

Party as a whole is equally uninspiring. After years of a Rightward shift directed by the party elite, Democrats are indistinguishable from Republicans on major issues like the "war on terrorism" and tax cuts that mostly benefit the rich. No wonder Republicans control the White House, Senate, and Congress. Democratic leadership candidate Howard Dean is leading the pack precisely because he's willing to clash swords with George Bush and offer an alternate vision. A vote for Joe Lieberman on the other hand, is a vote for Bush Lite. But Democrats can't expect to engage the electorate if they simply ape the current administration.

Democrats shouldn't be ashamed of their values. And they can't keep allowing Republicans to sweep them aside. The creation of a Left wing think tank offers promise, but it has to be accompanied by a vision. When we asked the Center for American Progress if they had any big ideas yet, all we got were blank stares. Hardly an auspicious start.

USING THE 'L' WORD

THERE'S SOMETHING DANGEROUS ABOUT the schoolyard's perennial loser. You knock him to the ground and take his cheese sandwich and half the school laughs along with you. This daily occurrence seems like it will last forever until, one day, the little punk bounces up and throws a fistful of sand in your eyes. Then he's on you like a hyena, all teeth and tears and snot and vengeance.

Is this where the political Left is at in America? There's no doubt that the Left has been beaten, mocked, and beaten again. Take a look at economic inequality, labor versus corporate rights, the Supreme Court, the boom in privatized jails, or deteriorating environmental protection. Or watch CNN's *Crossfire*.

fear

"Sometimes the pundit who is supposed to be 'on the Left' won't even say the L-word," says Joe Conason, political columnist for *Salon.com* and author of *Big Lies: The Right-Wing Propaganda Machine and How It Distorts the Truth*. "It's a dirty word in American politics and it has been for several decades."

But this year has seen a Lefty assault on the bestseller list, with titles like Conason's *Big Lies*; Michael Moore's *Dude, Where's my Country?*; Paul Krugman's *The Great Unraveling*; *Bushwhacked* by Molly Ivins and Lou Dubose; and *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* by Noam Chomsky. It's said that Americans vote at the bookstore, that the hardcover on their coffee table is the hoisted flag of their current politics. Are the bestseller lists a sign that the Left, that American political pipsqueak, is finally bouncing back?

Desperation sharpens the resolve and quickens the blood, and the possibility of a Bush re-election has sent the Left into a spin. Something has leaked into the mainstream but it's an open question,

however, whether it is ideology or just nerve-shrieking panic.

Wherever her book tour went, Molly Ivins found crowds jittery, angry, and anxious about the political drift of the country. It's a feeling well known to embattled Texan liberals, and it's now gone nation-wide.

This might not be a bad thing, says Ivins. "It's almost always true that the Left sits around and forms circular firing squads," she says, "but not in Texas. We're an endangered species here. We've never had the time to point fingers at each other and fret over the narcissism of small differences. Here it's more black and white. It's like, 'You against lynching? Okay, you're with us. Now shut up and bail, cuz we're drowning.'"



In the 1960s Todd Gitlin helped found Students for a Democratic Society, which spearheaded the Lefty anti-Vietnam War movement. He sees no comparable group out there today. "What we are seeing is a delayed, vengeful, and recoil-minded energy against the Bush and Republican *coup d'état*," says Gitlin, professor of journalism and sociology at Columbia and Left-leaning public intellectual. "It's a recognition that the forces of oligarchy and Christian fundamentalism have to be reversed. But this popular anti-Bush energy is not a Left wing movement."

The Left, he says, "has not only been vilified, it's also been emptied of its positive content. What remains is more a style than a politics. The style is transgressive, usually angry, a revulsion against anything mainstream. . . It cultivates the virtues of subversion, but subversion as a way of life rather than as an approach to political power." In short, the Left has become an unelectable attitude rather than a workable political vision.

Joe Conason believes the Left is making a resurgence, led by web-based networks like *MoveOn.org*. Not only is

it growing in popularity, but it has also learned from the Right: "Facts and soft speech don't always get the job done," says Conason. "On the Right there has always been the Bush strategy of seeming nice and concerned, all the while letting the ass-kicking hardliners do their thing. They both serve a purpose – one tries to captivate some portion of the center while the other motivates your base."

"But on the Left there's always been this desire to be perceived as fair and compassionate," he says, noting that the cuddlier philosophies like pacifism, vegetarianism, and Buddhism are concentrated on the Left, and they all counsel against aggression. "As a result the religious Right has been kicking the crap out of people for 20 years. People

bravado

on the Left are hitting back now, and that doesn't bother me."

Conason, Ivins and Gitlin all agree on one thing: now is not the time for an identity crisis. Constant self-critique, and the tendency to seek purity rather than victory, has kept the Left marginalized and weak while the (similarly non-mainstream) Christian Right has become a potent political force.

But it's possible that the Left might not be in for another schoolyard whuppin' in the coming election. In a leaked memo, Bush's chief re-election campaign strategist, Matthew Dodd, wrote that "this race will be decided within a four- or five-point margin, not the 18- to 20-point margins like 1984 or 1972." In a tight race, a focused Left might play a decisive role, and they have two things going for them. One is the internet, with the wildfire, grassroots organizing it makes possible.

And the other? That feeling one gets, down in the sand, the next kick on its way, that if you don't fight now then you'll never get up again.

Chris Tenove

The GUARDIAN
the only credible
lefty rag

BBC
The best TV news in the world

NEW STATESMAN
A flower among the
vegetables

NPG
Worth every cent
of the \$15 pricetag

THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD
best in Oz

mouth
fearless + passionate

CH4
Better than any of the US networks

PBS
Thanks Charlie Rose

ZINES

Salon.Com
View this ad to enter site

Earth First
Radically raw

Left

CLAMOUR
yes

NPR
best around,
could be
way better

WASHINGTON Post
yeah yeah

THE BAFFLER

HARPER'S
Lewis smokes
too much

utne
Too new agey of late
YES!
Too "good" to be true

ALTERNET.Org

time to move from analysis
to action

THE NATION

a pale
shadow
of its
former self

MS

Extra

Lustless political analysis
week after week

EARTH
ISLAND
JOURNAL

THIS

Pissing into
the wind

Multinational
Monitor

no, no, not Lawrence
Summers again

THE PROGRESSIVE

Caught in a time warp

Firmly stuck in the Soviet era

NYT

A few blind spots, yet still the best

Al Jazeera

CNN's sister station

NATIONAL POST

Please,
please give us money

ECONOMIST

smart, but predictable
VANITY FAIR
too fat for its own good.

People
NATIONAL
ENQUIRER

MTV

#1 Mind Fuck

CNN

USA

Today

effective

Fox
Scary

The ATLANTIC MONTHLY

The LONDON
TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT

right

ABC
CBS
NBC

T
a
t
p
a
c
k

Ha'aretz
- Often Fearless -

JERUSALEM
POST
conrad
BLACK'S
diaper

THE NEW YORKER

bombshell feature every
now and again.

THE GLOBE + MAIL

but does not believe in global warming

TIME / NEWSWEEK

Tweedledee

PETA'S
ANIMAL TIMES

People magazine
for vegetarians

GQ

Sucks

BEST OF THE BUNCH

BBC

NEW STATESMAN

- NYT -

NPQ

ineffective

AND YOU THOUGHT CONSUMERS WERE PART OF THE PROBLEM. THEY AND THE COMPANIES WHO SELL them stuff are the solution to our planet's woes – if you believe the representatives of several major US environmental and activist groups.

In an about-face from the grassroots campaigning and hyper-confrontational rhetoric of the 1970s and '80s, these organizations are putting a market-friendly spin on their dealings with corporate America. Some have even added to the glut of merchandise on store shelves. It's part of a broader international trend that sees governments of all political persuasions forming "partnerships" with industry. Has "It's a win-win" replaced "Fuck you, Wall Street" as the activist battle cry? Observers worry these once-potent foes of capitalist excess have jumped the shark to mainstream toothlessness.

Take San Francisco-based Sierra Club. Last year, America's oldest environmental group launched a line of products – including organic-cotton clothing and organic, fair-trade coffee – supplied by third-party companies and sold under its brand name. The logic: most consumers consider themselves environmentalists, so why not give them some guilt-free options? "If you're looking for holes, I'm sure you'll find [them]," says Johanna O'Kelley, the club's director of licensing, who admits the effort is as much about fundraising as it is about offering better choices. "We aren't perfect, but we are trying very hard to be as careful as possible [in our partnerships]."

Sierra Club press secretary Eric Antebi says his group still spends 98 percent of its time pushing public policy and holding wrongdoers accountable. He also concedes that staff members are conflicted about the decision to peddle consumer goods. However, "We're not just an organization that can only say 'no'. In order to be an organization that's helpful, we have to be able to say 'yes' to positive things that are out there." That's why Sierra Club has given awards for innovation to Honda and Toyota, in the hope that other car makers, and by extension consumers, will follow their good example.

Sounds noble in principle, right? Australian academic Sharon Beder doesn't buy it. "It brings up that



SIERRA
CLUB

"business

whole issue of change, and whether change is best achieved through political or consumer action," says the author of *Global Spin: The Corporate Assault on Environmentalism*. In Beder's opinion, consumerism is inherently reactive – you select from what corporations put in front of you – while politics is proactive, about finding your own solutions to problems. "For groups like the Sierra Club to buy into the green-consumer thing . . . is advocating a very weak form of change."

So, where do Eric Antebi and his colleagues draw the line? Taking money from corporations and collaborating with them "in terms of publicity and marketing makes us uncomfortable," he says. But isn't that what he's doing by collecting royalties from manufacturers? "It's on our terms, not theirs," Antebi replies.

Rainforest Action Network doesn't appear to have a problem with taking corporate money. Last fall, the San Francisco-based group placed a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times*, congratulating Idaho conglomerate Boise Cascade for bowing to RAN's demands that it stop buying wood products from endangered forests. [For a full story on how they won this victory see "RAN's Big Push" later in the issue.]

"We'd like to thank Boise Cascade Corporation for its commitment to forest stewardship and old growth forests around the world." were the only words on more than half the full-page ad. in an ugly rewriting

of recent history. No mention of their blanket refusal to stop old-growth logging just three years earlier.

"The company that's long been a leader in the forest products industry is now taking the lead in an extraordinary new way," it continued, doing its best imitation of a letter to shareholders.

As if RAN slapping its logo on this wasn't shocking enough, Boise Cascade picked up the \$80,000-tab. RAN communications director Paul West wields eerily similar platitudes to the ad. "We want to leverage public opinion to put us on a path to sustainability," he says. "If we can get into people's media diet, then we can raise the conceptual bar."

Critic Sharon Beder doesn't appreciate that kind of talk. "The modern environmental group has taken on all the language and values of mainstream marketing," she claims. The desire to be seen as positive rather than negative by consumers proves the success of corporate public-relations strategies, which have sought to divide

GR

and conquer the environmental movement by engaging its opportunists and realists and ignoring its radicals. Beder argues that corporations only took activists seriously in the first place because of their profoundly negative tactics. If all the glad-handing keeps up, there'll be no push for any further change.

Michael Brune, RAN's executive director, dismisses suggestions that the ad was a sellout to industry. "If Boise decides not to get out of logging old-growth forests, we'll go after them again," he warns.

"If we had signed a deal behind closed doors . . . then I would say we'd been co-opted by corporations," West adds.

Brune says the idea that RAN might lend its name to someone else's product is "anathema to who we are." But isn't that what he just did in the *New York Times*? "It's our campaign," Paul West insists. Is it?

You won't catch hardliner People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals hawking cruelty-free clothing or lending its name to upbeat ad campaigns that publicly rehabilitate a company's image. "We don't engage in that kind of sponsorship stance," says Jeff Kerr, general legal counsel for the Norfolk, Virginia-based group.

However, PETA does encourage its members to thank corporations whose advertising reflects compassion for nonhumans. "Consumers, frankly, are the greatest friends that animals have," Kerr says of this earnest pat on the back. "Generally, we will encourage companies who are doing things to reduce the suffering of animals." Again, it's enough to provoke Mr. Burns-like grins around the boardroom table. Is this the same PETA that recently supplied the media with photographs of European animal-rights activists spattering David Novak, CEO of KFC parent company Yum! Brands, with fake blood?

What about Greenpeace, known for its courageous actions against environmental criminals? John Passacantando, executive director of Greenpeace USA, appears to be trying to please everybody. Or nobody. "There's no new trend for us: we've never been anti-corporate or anti-capitalist, and we've never been pro either of those things," he says from San Francisco, describing his group's philosophy as "Whatever it takes."



solutions

But that doesn't include accepting cash from influence peddlers. "Greenpeace, I can tell you, simply cannot take corporate [or government] money," Passacantando explains; those are the rules, and the staff and board wouldn't allow it. "I would never argue that every environmental group should do that, but it's our niche in the political system."

Still, Sharon Beder – who has written about what she calls the greenwashing of the 2000 Sydney Olympics – reserves some of her harshest criticism for Greenpeace. "The way that Greenpeace is corrupted is through individuals being offered career opportunities," she says, citing its participation in the "revolving door" between government, industry and PR firms. Conspiracy theory? Well, in 2002, former Greenpeace UK head Lord Peter Melchett joined Burson-Marsteller, which represents Greenpeace archenemy Monsanto. And in 1995, Paul Gilding, ex-CEO of Greenpeace International, launched a consultancy whose clients have included Monsanto, DuPont and mining giant Placer Dome.

"These guys have a right to go and employ themselves wherever they want," Passacantando retorts, describing such moves as extremely rare. "It seems to become news only when Greenpeace does it, because the standard is that much higher."

That's right, John. Spin it any way you like, but here's what British author and activist George Monbiot wrote about the situation: "Environmentalism, like almost everything else, is in danger of being swallowed by the corporate leviathan. If this happens, it will disappear without trace. No one threatens its survival as much as the greens who have taken the company shilling." It'd take a lot of organic-cotton t-shirts to bury that accusation.

Nick Rockel is articles editor at Vancouver, BC's alternative newsweekly, the Georgia Straight. The former editor of Vancouver magazine grew up in New Zealand, England and Newfoundland, and is a lapsed scholar of classical languages.

GREENPEACE

LEFT ON THE COUCH...

THERE IS A LARGE BODY OF SCIENTIFIC evidence regarding the personalities of fanatically Right wing people, of fascists. They typically hate uncertainty, are averse to complexity and have a strong need for order, structure and closure. They dislike ambiguity, are dogmatic, not open to experience and unusually scared of death. They tend to have had very strict upbringings and to secretly hate their parents and authority, but rather than face this, identify incredibly strongly with them.

Unfortunately for us Lefties, it is by no means as simple as that we are this pattern's healthy opposite. If we loosely define the Left as people who want a society that offers equal opportunities, fairness and the placing of physical and mental welfare ahead of profit, there is no clear evidence that we have a particular psychology. And many Lefties are every bit as fanatical as fascists and paradoxically, prepared to tyrannize or even kill in order to impose their beliefs. When working at a therapeutic community for the mentally ill, I encountered Julie, who had studied politics and graduated at the top of her class. Her relations with the university authorities had been stormy but she completed a postgraduate degree and published a book, a scholarly Marxist analysis of the American electoral system, before dropping out of academia. Her analysis of current British politics and economics was exceptionally impressive.

When I met her she was in her early thirties and had been working full-time

and very hard in Left wing politics for three years. She was admitted to the hospital because she was suffering from a general malaise, although nothing approaching schizophrenia. When not talking about politics she was a warm, unassuming woman, well-liked by many. A vegetarian and a heavy user of marijuana, she was easygoing if quick-witted and intense. She was short and slight in build and full of nervous energy, forever adjusting her John Lennon-style spectacles with twitchy movements.

Her relationships with men followed a pattern. Either she was on friendly, asexual, sisterly terms with them, or she fell in love with an idealizing gush. On the occasions that active sexual relations were established, they were broken off by the men very rapidly. She could be highly critical of men in general and sometimes voiced the idea that she might be a lesbian.

About a year after we first met, I arrived back from a holiday to find Julie and a group of other patients sitting round the kitchen table about to share a pot of tea. It was poured but before anyone could sample it Julie said, "Don't drink it, it's poisoned." We ignored her with the fluid skill that groups have in persuading themselves that such comments do not exist, but this proved to be the first note in a symphony of symptoms which became a hideous cacophony over the next fortnight. She believed there were two transmitters at either end of the city which were sending a signal through the house, driving her mad. She passed hours crouched naked in the bath scrubbing her clothes "to get them clean." A fear of "dirty," poisoned food precluded eating. Some of what she said made no sense to me, but at other times, she was dazzlingly insightful, whether about my motives for sitting with her or the wider society. Like the last minutes of a dying light bulb, these insights illuminated a great deal but they were followed by

days of psychotic incomprehensibility. Eventually we called her parents, who lived far away. She was transferred to a hospital with locked wards because she had become a danger to herself.

After taking Julie there, her father came back to the house to sort out Julie's room. He immediately began to empty the wardrobe and chest of drawers. He made three piles: one for burning ("impossibly filthy"); one for throwing away ("filthy, but not a health risk"); and one for washing. It turned out that Julie's father's job was as a health inspection officer for the council. This made some sense of Julie's preoccupation with cleanliness and poisoning. He was strikingly aggressive toward the dirt and mess, as he saw it, and equally remarkable was his total lack of respect for her personal autonomy. He seemed to have no awareness that in throwing away clothes, treasured objects and various screeds that she had penned during her illness, he was trespassing on her personal life.

There were grounds for speculation as to his role in causing her hostility toward men and to authority in general, and to the British economic and political system in particular. Her relations with men and with any formal authority were unsatisfactory to her. Whenever she got close to either she began to talk in a frenzied way about their "contradictions," dragging her knowledge of Marxist theory into an explanation of why a man had jilted her or why a policeman should not have stopped me for speeding on the way to the hospital. It was difficult to avoid the speculation that she chose Marxism as a way of coping with her father. It could be that the extent of her understanding of Marxism's application to British

society was in direct proportion to the difficulties she had in coping. As they increased, she was forced to apply her defensive Marxism in ever greater detail and in ever widening contexts, with ever greater ingenuity.

In the end, it was Julie's contradictions and not those of the capitalist system which led to a collapse, not of the existing economic order, but of Julie's capacity to cope. Perhaps she tried to save herself by identifying with that which she was trying to oppose: her father and his concern with cleanliness. Scrubbing her clothes and refusing "dirty" food may have been a last ditch attempt to save herself by becoming her tormentor.

The evidence shows that ideological rigidity like Julie's exists on both sides of the political spectrum. Plenty of Lefties are rigidly close-minded and cling unquestioningly to their ideologies. They are just as likely to believe in strong leaders and submission to them, and to be highly aggressive towards dissenters as fascists. Whether it be eco-warriors, vegetarians or anti-capitalists, fanaticism is easily encountered if you contradict their fondest beliefs.

Obviously, not everyone who challenges the status quo is necessarily using their ideology as a closet attack on parents or as a psychological defence. While a student, in 1975, I attended a lecture at our local mental hospital by a dissident Soviet psychiatrist with her artist husband in attendance. Their manner of meeting had been most unusual: referral for confirmation of a diagnosis of schizophrenia. Having gone through the usual routine of interviewing, she could find nothing very loopy about his thinking. He was not suffering hallucinations and did not believe that he was a poached egg (delusions). Only when he began to slag off the Marxist-Leninist system in

which they lived did she begin to doubt his sanity. She had encountered that "symptom" before, but on this occasion, it suddenly occurred to her that it was nothing of the kind. All he was saying was that they lived in a repressive regime that was badly at variance with its declared goals of bringing universal freedom and equality. In a Damascene moment she realized that any attempt to declare him mad would be purely political, not medical.

So it's complex. There are innumerable regimes claiming to espouse Lefty ideas who do the opposite. To a certain extent, Tony Blair's New Labour is an example of a regime that pretends to be Right wing but in practice, is more to the Left – it grandstands in the newspapers against immigrants and welfare scroungers, for example, but covertly taxes the rich and tries to help the disadvantaged more than the Conservatives ever would. In fact, nowadays about the only strong predictor of Lefty psychology is age and even this has become complicated. In the 1960s Mick Jagger said of his politics that "my heart votes Left, my head votes Right." I do not know what his heart says now but he certainly spends a lot of time doing world tours to add to his hundreds of millions of pounds and help pay for his son's school fees at Eton College. (Incidentally, as my wife and I were leaving a wedding reception in a posh hotel two days ago, Jagger passed us on his way into a lift with some gorgeous woman. He nearly

charmed the knickers off my wife by finding the time to say "Very nice hat" to her: 60 and recently knighted, Jagger still carries on like a flirtatious teenager, whatever his politics.) Traditionally, as people got older they become more Right wing. Encumbered by mortgages, they are literally invested in the system through pensions and shareholdings. Psychologically, the need to be authority figures to their children makes them more likely to side with The Authorities. They inevitably dislike ideas which challenge the status quo because they have joined it.

But this simple equation of youth with radicalism has been complicated by Thatcherism and Reaganomics. For a time in the 1980s great swathes of young British people were more Right wing than their parents. Now, although the old are still generally further Right, the middle-aged are by no means necessarily so. It is tempting to conclude that George Orwell was correct that the greatest enemy is fanaticism of any persuasion. Yet that is precisely what some situations demand: to fight the Nazis in the 1930s and 1940s, to resist McCarthyism or Soviet tyranny in the 1950s and today, perhaps it takes a Bin Laden to call a halt to the disease that is American advanced capitalism.

Fanatics of all kinds had disturbing childhoods. People who have a more open-minded desire to create an equal society probably had happier childhoods and are more emotionally mature. But it may be that the pathology which causes totalitarian corporatism or communism alike always demands a corresponding pathology in its opponents for it to be overthrown.

*Oliver James is a clinical psychologist and author of They F*** You Up – How To Survive Family Life and of Britain on the Couch – why are we unhappier than we were in the 1950s – despite being richer.*



will I vote for Howard Dean?

...I HAVE SOMETHING TO CONFESS

I WAS RAISED A DEMOCRAT THE WAY SOME PEOPLE ARE raised Catholic. My parents were party activists, and they turned our dinner table into an informal salon where we aired issues of the day. I was even named for one of their Democrat friends, who later became the chief justice of the Minnesota supreme court. For my family, being a Democrat was existential: we didn't vote Democrat – we *were* Democrats. Our core values were, in some essential way, the values of the party – honesty, decency, fairness – and we sent honest, decent, fair men (and some women) to Congress, and they worked hard to create honest, decent, fair legislation.

Above all, I was taught that a healthy democracy plays to humanity's strengths and compensates for its weaknesses. Democracy is like a firm, tender mother who draws out the best in her unruly children by encouraging their imaginations, forcing them to shake hands after a dispute, to study hard and fight fair. At the same time, democracy's checks and balances offer a gentle reproof to our selfish natures; periodic elections offer relief from our natural restlessness and protection against power's corrupting influences. Idealistic? Maybe. But that's the whole point of a democracy. We're supposed to be idealists struggling to find the noble answer, the common good, the enduring solutions.

I believe all this. Sort of. In spite of the fact that, in order to plant and cultivate this government, our founding fathers first had to poison and destroy entire races of "savages"; in spite of our history since then of despoilation, aggression, and heartlessness; in spite of our greed and our ongoing battle with megalomaniacs, part of me still believes in the noble project of self-rule.

I believe in this, but I can't find any signs of it. How far we have fallen from this ideal of healthy democracy. What a rotten, corrupt travesty our political process has turned into. A pack of liars and spin-masters run our country, and the depressed, hopeless and alienated non-voters most of us have become are letting them. And the Democratic party? A denuded, impotent and pathetic force for change. Expecting transformation from the current pack of preening presidential Democrats – whose collective views fall somewhere to the right of Richard Nixon – is like trying to heat your house with a 40-watt light bulb.

It doesn't help that I'm not alone. A recent study at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government found that 90 percent of non-voters and 76 percent of voters believe that "candidates will say almost anything to get elected"; 51 percent of non-voters and 37 percent of voters agree that "most politicians are liars and crooks"; 43 and 21 percent of them believe there's virtually no difference between Republicans and Democrats. Moreover, a CNN exit poll taken during the last presidential election found that 55 percent of voters in the presidential race had serious reservations about

their choice.

These numbers work out great for both parties. Assuming there's a fair bit of overlap among the various groups, there's only 12 percent of adult Americans who believe in one of the candidates, trust the system, and vote their little hearts out. The real polarization in the country isn't between the parties, it's between this believing minority and the rest of us cynics who are so revolted by the pandering and vacuousness of our leaders that voting makes us sick. If we vote at all. Whatever you want to call such a system – an oligarchy, plutocracy, or just plain illegitimate – it's not democracy. Not the kind I was raised to believe in.

"Sure," say my Democrat friends (and my mom) "but, however pandering and vacuous Al Gore (or Howard Dean) is, he's better than Bush." Maybe. Or maybe he's just a better liar. Democratic candidates like to say they're for the little guy, but their record as leaders, from the Bay of Pigs to NAFTA, tells otherwise. Republicans want to sell out their country to big business in a hurry. Democrats want to sell out to big business a little slower – and maybe toss a few sticks of chewing gum to admirers along the parade route. *Vive la difference!* Politicians know their support hinges on a miniscule slice of the governed, so they pitch their campaigns to a tiny minority of upper-middle-class voters who share some basic views. Or, more to the point, to a handful of wealthy interests who pay for their campaigns.

Where does this leave the rest of us – the 90 percent who find ourselves unrepresented by either party? Increasingly frustrated, alienated, left out. If I feel alienated as an educated, self-sufficient, and fairly involved citizen (I join local political initiatives like the planning commission in my town; I write letters to the editor and essays like this one, and, like a chump, I still vote), then just how removed is someone working three jobs to survive? Or someone wealthy enough to imagine that he has insulated himself from the effects of government (excepting, perhaps, taxes)? For me, lapsed Democrat, tepid voter, cheated citizen, this situation clarifies the issues. Will I vote for Howard Dean? Aw, hell, probably. Or maybe not.

Will I man the barricades? Well, maybe I will some day. In the meantime, I've turned off the television and moved to the country where I've joined the ranks of an ad hoc population of organic farmers, artists, anarchists, writers, carpenters, healers, cranks and recluses who are not a movement exactly, except that we could conceivably continue to live just about the same way we do today when, as seems inevitable, the whole goddamn country comes crashing down around us. In short, it's a terrific place to reinvent democracy.

Joseph Hart is a freelance writer living in rural Wisconsin. His new zine, The Drift, is available by sending an email to thedrift@frontiernet.net.

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PlayStation 2



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FROM DRILL MAGAZINE, NOV/DEC 2003



...LET'S FACE IT, AMERICA HAS SOMETHING TO TEACH THE WORLD

AS JOHNS HOPKINS PROFESSOR ELIOT Cohen says, we have entered World War IV. More than a war against terror, this war is to extend democracy to those parts of the Arab and Muslim world threatening the democratic civilization we fought to build throughout the 20th century in World War I, World War II and the Cold War – World War III. I hope World War IV will not be as long as the 40-plus years of World War III, but it will certainly be longer than either World War I or II; it will probably take decades.

Eighty-six years ago the United States entered World War I. At the time there were 10, maybe 12 democracies in the world: the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands and a couple of other countries in Northern Europe. It was a world of empires, of colonies, of kingdoms and of various types of authoritarian regimes. Today there are 121 democracies in the world out of 192 countries.

These 121 democracies all have some parliamentary contested elections and at least the beginnings of the rule of law. That is an amazing change, all in the lifetime of many of the individuals in these countries. Nothing like this has ever happened before in history.

America had something to do with it – in helping to win World War I, in triumphing with Britain in World War II, and in eventually prevailing

in World War III. A lot of people said cynically that the Germans, Japanese, Russians and those with Confucist backgrounds would never be able to accept democracy. It took some help, but the Germans, Japanese and now even the Russians and Taiwanese seem to have figured democracy out.

In the Muslim world, outside the 22 Arab states which have no democracies, there are well-governed states that are moderating and changing, like Bahrain. Of the 24 Muslim-predominant, non-Arab states, about half are democracies. They include some of the poorest countries in the world such as Bangladesh and Mali. Nearly 200 million Muslims live in a democracy in India. Outside one province, they are generally at peace with their Hindu neighbors.

There is a special problem in the Middle East, however. Outside Israel and Turkey, there are basically two types of governments: pathological predators, and vulnerable autocracies. There are no democracies. This is not a good mix. Saddam is now gone from Iraq, but Iran, Syria, Sudan and Libya continue to sponsor and assist terrorism in one way or another. All five have sought weapons of mass destruction.

Clearly, this war on terror is never going to be over until we change the face of the Middle East, which is what we are starting to do in Iraq. That is a tall order. But it is not larger than what we have already accomplished in the previous world wars.

Change remains to happen in the one part of the world that has, historically,

not had democracy, and has reacted angrily against intrusions from the outside: the Arab Middle East.

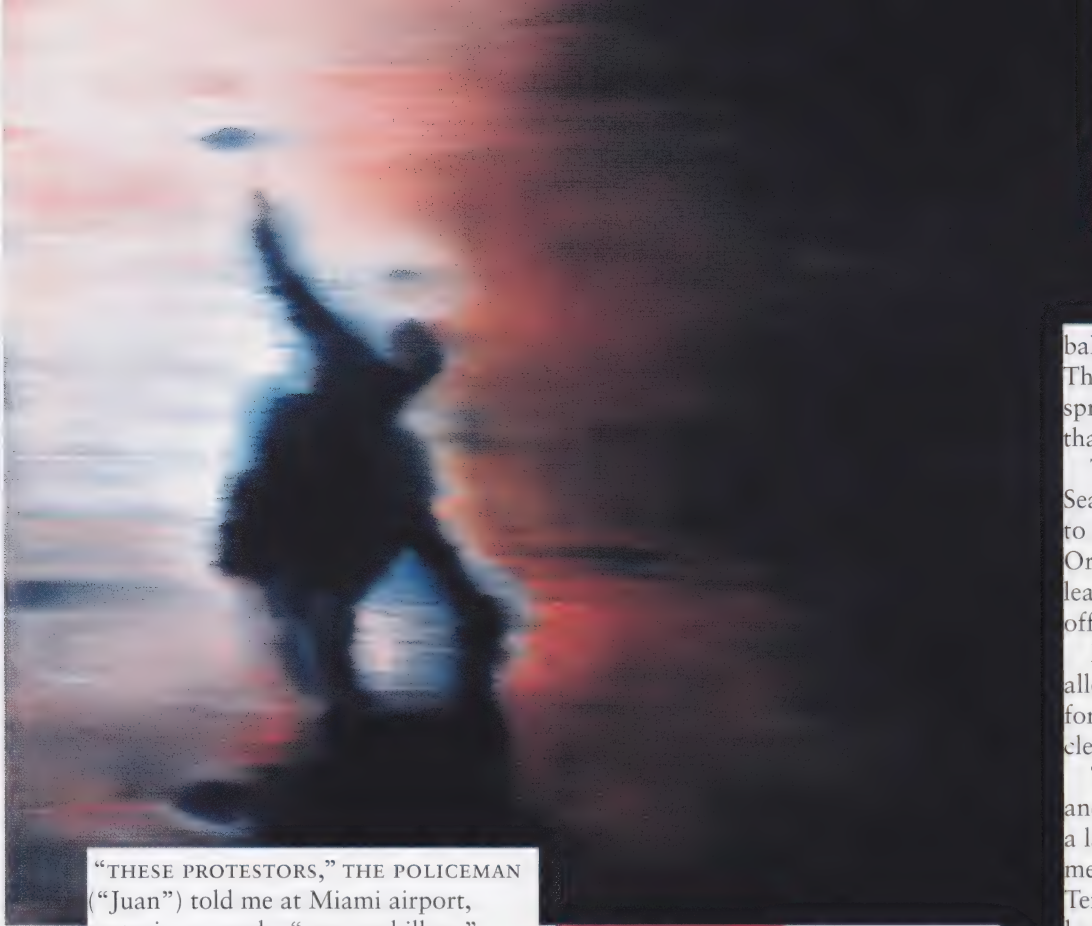
Saddam Hussein, autocrats from the Saudi royal family and terrorists alike must realize that now, for the fourth time in 100 years, America is on the march. We didn't choose this fight – the Ba'athist fascists, the Islamist Shia and the Islamist Sunni did – but we're in it. Being on the march, there's only one way we're going to be able to win it: it's the way we won World War I, fighting for Wilson's 14 points; it's the way we won World War II, fighting for Churchill's and Roosevelt's Atlantic Charter. It's the way we won World War III, fighting the noble ideas best expressed by President Reagan but also by President Truman.

Like the world wars of the past, this war is not of us against them. It is not a war between countries. It is a war of freedom against tyranny.

America has to convince the people of the Middle East that we are on their side, just as we convinced Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel and Andrei Sakharov. This will take time, and it will be difficult.

We know we are making the terrorists, dictators and autocrats nervous. We want them to be. We want them to realize that America is on the march, and we are on the side of those whom they fear most, their own people.

Excerpted from an April 2, 2003 speech at UCLA by former CIA director James Woolsey.



"THESE PROTESTORS," THE POLICEMAN ("Juan") told me at Miami airport, gesturing vaguely, "are cop killers."

What a welcome. I had just arrived in Florida for the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) meeting. Juan warmed to his theme.

Protesters killed police officers in Seattle and Cancun, he added. I knew it wasn't true, but polite attempts to correct him went nowhere. Over the next few days, I got used to this refrain: protestors are cop killers. Never mind the facts.

Juan had other stories about protesters. "They piss in balloons and throw them at police. They come here armed and dangerous."

In Miami, he insisted proudly, they'd met their match. "If they try and reach you, we will cut them off even before they get close to you," he said, waving his finger like a dagger, then folding it as if it was sliced off at the knuckle.

It turned out that getting into downtown Miami, anywhere close to the perimeter that had been erected, required a special \$80 permit and a background check by state and federal officials.

I was in town to conduct workshops on the impact of trade agreements on communities. The half-dozen suits boarding the downtown bus with me, members of Canada's Department of

Foreign Affairs Industry and Trade, seemed thrilled with the police attention. Settling into the luxurious seats, they discussed Miami's fine golf courses, the private schools they'd attended and how the vistas reminded them of Nicaragua or El Salvador. As we passed hundreds and hundreds of police, including heavily armed squads in brand-new riot gear, they were clearly impressed, debating the names of the light armored tanks visible above the police cars.

Downtown Miami was empty. Businesses had been closed for nearly a week. The city had passed an ordinance making it illegal for more than eight people to gather on the streets. The bustle of this diverse city was gone, replaced by paramilitaries from 45 police departments.

An estimated 8,000 police officers were guarding a one-and-a-half-day meeting for 34 trade ministers. Their arsenal included the latest crowd-control toys: water cannons, tear gas and pepper

balls shot from paint-ball-style guns. The balls were filled with a liquid that spreads, sticks and leaves painful burns that can't be relieved by water.

The rationale? Avoid a repeat of Seattle, where activists had contributed to the collapse of the 1999 World Trade Organization meeting. In Seattle, police learned that the best defence is a strong offence, and they brought that to Miami.

More than \$8.5 million had been allocated to security from the \$87 billion for rebuilding Iraq. The message was clear: a war abroad and a war at home.

Thursday was the big day for speeches and a legal march. Unions had rented a large amphitheater, the authorized meeting point for workers and citizens. Tens of thousands came to hear speeches by labor leaders, environmentalists and community activists, and to participate in a legal two-mile march against the FTAA.

The blocks around the amphitheater were clogged with riot police. Intersections were shut down – only a string of three or four people could pass at a time. Buses carrying retirees were stopped 10 blocks away, and hundreds of elderly people were forced to walk in the sun through a gauntlet of riot police. Another 187 buses carrying workers from around the state were not permitted into the city.

Helicopters hovered over the stadium, drowning out the speakers while armed police photographed and filmed the growing crowd. Guns were pointed randomly at people.

When a 62-year-old grandmother who came for the march stepped into a portapotty, baton-wielding police banged on it and shook it violently until she emerged, pants down to her knees. A 72-year-old man was thrown to the ground and cuffed when he asked a police troop where the seniors' buses were parked.

After the march ended, a lawyer in a skirt and high heels held up a sign saying "Fear Totalitarianism" in front of 500 armed riot police. A small crowd, fewer than 100 people, had gathered around her. With no warning, police started shooting rubber bullets from near point-blank range. The woman lowered her sign to protect her face, but was shot through the sign.

Police had been making arrests for days, paying intimidation visits to local churches hosting educational events. Squads of armed police paraded through workshops, brandishing guns and watching the crowd through video equipment.

A small band of citizens marched to the courthouse to protest these intimidation tactics and the more than 250 arrests. The group, including students from Harvard studying trade agreements and social movements, was surrounded by hundreds of police and squad cars. Warned to disperse, the protesters raised their hands to show they had no weapons and walked

backwards from the scene, chanting loudly: "We are dispersing."

When one young, scared boy knelt down to pray, five heavily armed riot squad troopers rushed him, using their shields as plows. He was knocked backwards with such force that he was left stunned and supine on the pavement. Police officers dropped to one knee and began shooting rubber bullets at protesters walking backwards with their hands up. My friend was hit in the leg. Others took repeated hits of rubber bullets and pepper balls.

More than 50 people were arrested and charged with offences like unlawful assembly, resisting arrest and assault. One trooper remarked, "You may beat

the charge, but you can't beat the ride."

People who had been released from jail or were calling from inside reported brutality, sexual assault and torture. People of color and queer and transgendered prisoners were particularly targeted. Prisoners were denied visitation rights and access to attorneys, medication and medical attention. There was a confirmed report of one Latino man, arrested with 62 others outside Miami-Dade County Jail on Friday, who needed hospital treatment after being beaten on the head with a nightstick by an arresting officer. More than 100 protestors were treated for injuries and 12 were hospitalized.

After dark on Thursday night, military tanks patrolled the streets. Canada's trade minister, Pierre Pettigrew, remarked that he was unfazed by the protests, because he couldn't see or hear them from inside the heavily fortified Intercontinental Hotel, where the talks were taking place.

Karl Flecker is the education coordinator with Canada's Polaris Institute.





Effective insurrections don't happen spontaneously. They require organization and, with the rising tide of anti-terrorism legislation all around us, serious organization. We can't take on the state in a head to head battle and win, no matter how organized we are. But we can foster rebellions that win the hearts and minds of the people. And that is where the true battleground lies: the battle for imagination, the battle for spirit.

...THIS ISN'T WORKING ANYMORE

IN MIAMI, I SAW A LINE OF BURLY union men relieve a police line. These police officers set down their shields and removed their body armor to cool off, resting up so they could later beat the crap out of activists. It highlighted the state of disarray that progressive activism is in.

We rely on tactics that clearly aren't working. We hope against hope that our adversaries will realize children suffer in sweatshops and animals die in research laboratories. They won't. Those who have financial means to defend unjust institutions will never switch sides because of a well-phrased sign or a catchy flyer.

Our world needs a serious rethink, but unfortunately our words and actions don't measure up. We set up huge demonstrations that are forced to the edge of highways, far away from their targets. We scream and yell at people walking past but really, when was the last time you were suddenly moved by the fervor of anti-abortion activists?

Our audience is the media-savvy consumer, comfortable with ignoring billboards, advertisements and messages of all types. Yet we still frantically jam pamphlets into their hands, ignoring the multiple pamphlets that sit in garbage cans. And we give talks at universities to the same groups of campus liberals, satisfied with fulfilling the image of activism.

I've been at demonstrations where success was determined by whether or not the local TV news showed up (inevitably to interview the worst-spoken activist). This fixation on being seen as activists ignores the result: a 35-second fluff story that turns our protests into pep-rallies.

At the most recent Washington demonstrations against the IMF/World Bank, thousands of activists were corralled by police. Word

that we would be able to march within shouting distance of the meetings circulated all day, and, after several hours, the march was allowed to walk (surrounded by walls of police) to another corral opposite the IMF building. Of course, it was 6 pm and everyone in the building had gone home – but thousands shouted dutifully at an empty building. Why?

We beg and plead for change, but many of us don't really want it. Folks overwhelmed by suffering in the world often use activism to relieve the guilt of their privileged lives. We don't have time for this self-indulgence; we need to think about how our protests can directly affect the problems they are fighting. This requires analysis of our tactics. And tough questions:

1. Are you using an action to garner more support? If so, have you reached into the community? Sending an email to twelve friends doesn't count. Get out there. Talk to people.

2. Are you trying to damage a corporate enemy? Are you protesting

outside their retail shop, or have you traveled to corporate headquarters? Have you figured out a way to communicate with their shoppers? If not, you may as well shout at cars.

3. Are you going to a big anti-capitalist demonstration? Do you have a plan for yourself? If you come expecting someone to tell you what to do, you've missed the point. Make an affinity group, plan some street theater, or even better, cause a ruckus where the cops aren't. Go to the rich areas of the city you are demonstrating in and spray paint some revolutionary messages.

We are running out of time. The problems that face our world are complicated and difficult to solve. We need activism that is smart, challenging and effective, and we need to put all these questions on the table for debate.

The time for symbolic protest is over.

Maxwell Schmurder believes social justice is worth fighting for and that the master's tools cannot dismantle the master's house.

This is how we could make things work. The ideas for the action are formulated using horizontal organizing principles through a community consensus and council meetings. This way the action is built on a solid foundation of radical democracy and is firmly planted within the voices and thoughts of the people. When the larger group subdivides into smaller affinity groups to accomplish individual tasks, temporary hierarchical structures can be introduced. Basically, short-term decision-making powers are delegated to certain people based on their skills, the community trusting that they can make decisions quickly and effectively in a crisis without being bogged down by the slower process of consensus.

The action completed, the temporary hierarchy reverts back to the consensus model where both the action and its leaders can be evaluated; in this way the system becomes adaptive. Think of these clusters of small affinity groups as temporary guerilla armies, whether the task at hand is something traditionally militant or more creative. They swarm from the "hive" to attack the system, dissolving back into the community once the task is accomplished.

We need extremely committed and creative activists willing to train and plan months in advance of big convergences like Cancún. A friend of mine sat down next to one of the Koreans in Cancún on a break during the protests. The Korean said to him, "You are protester, or are you fighter?" My friend answered, "I am a fighter." The Korean nodded and said, "Yes, I think American anarchist army very strong." My friend replied, "Well it doesn't seem like you all are doing too badly in Korea either." The Korean answered, "Yes, we have many specialists." We need to take the cue from the Koreans. It's time to get busy.

Andrew Stern <www.AndrewStern.net> is a writer and photographer in the editorial collective, Notes from Nowhere, that produced the book *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism* (Verso, 2003).

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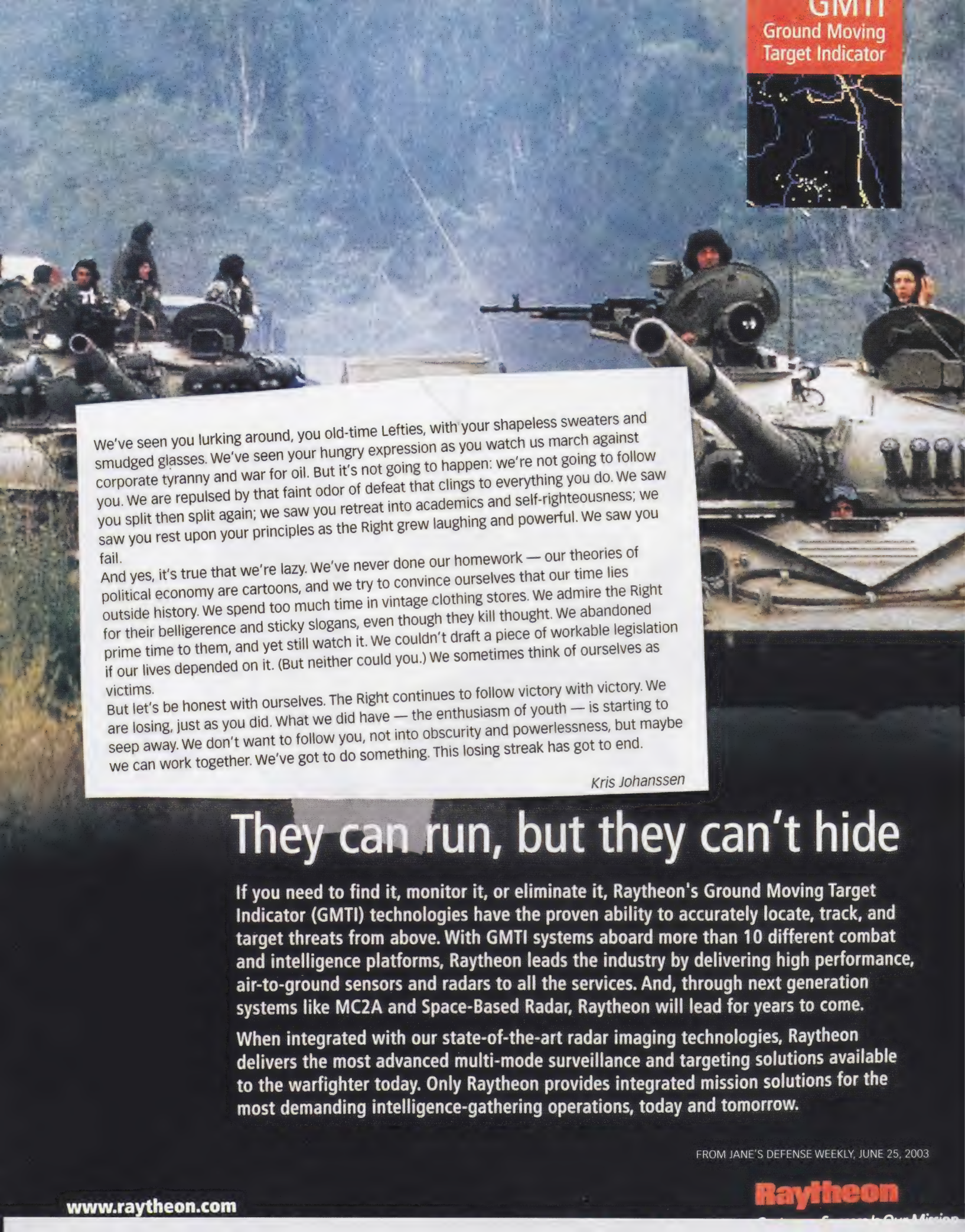


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We've seen you lurking around, you old-time Lefties, with your shapeless sweaters and smudged glasses. We've seen your hungry expression as you watch us march against corporate tyranny and war for oil. But it's not going to happen: we're not going to follow you. We are repulsed by that faint odor of defeat that clings to everything you do. We saw you split then split again; we saw you retreat into academics and self-righteousness; we saw you rest upon your principles as the Right grew laughing and powerful. We saw you fail.

And yes, it's true that we're lazy. We've never done our homework — our theories of political economy are cartoons, and we try to convince ourselves that our time lies outside history. We spend too much time in vintage clothing stores. We admire the Right for their belligerence and sticky slogans, even though they kill thought. We abandoned prime time to them, and yet still watch it. We couldn't draft a piece of workable legislation if our lives depended on it. (But neither could you.) We sometimes think of ourselves as victims.

But let's be honest with ourselves. The Right continues to follow victory with victory. We are losing, just as you did. What we did have — the enthusiasm of youth — is starting to seep away. We don't want to follow you, not into obscurity and powerlessness, but maybe we can work together. We've got to do something. This losing streak has got to end.

Kris Johanssen

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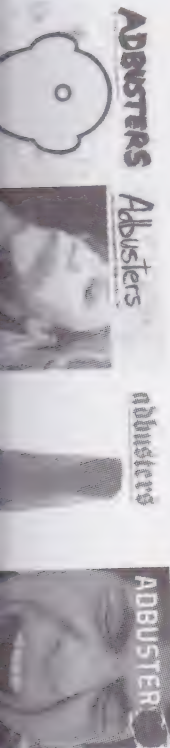
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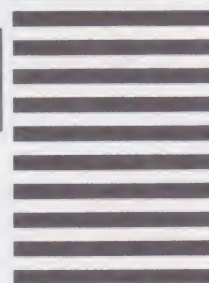
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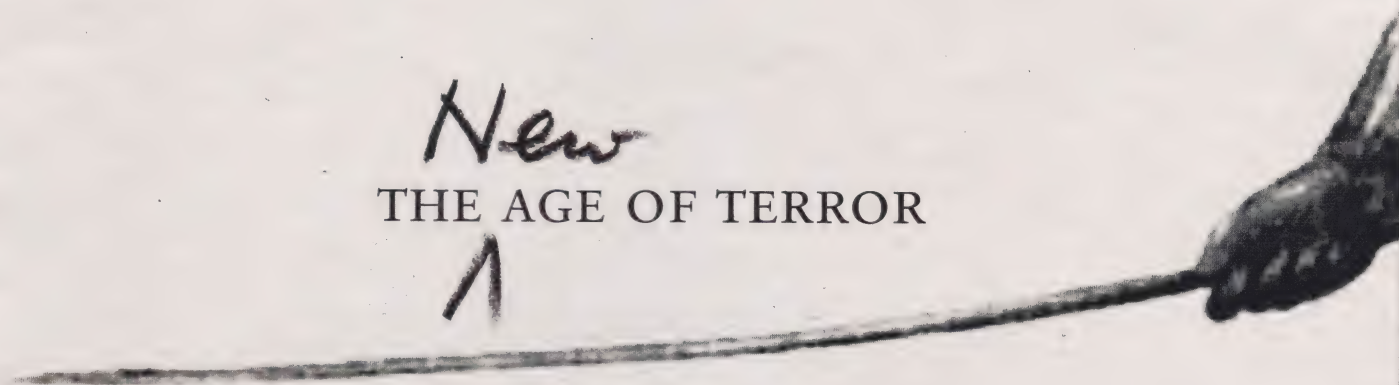
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Supporting Our Mission

New
THE AGE OF TERROR
1



AS LONG AS WE ARE MADE OF FLESH,
TERROR WILL REIGN OVER US.



HELIODORUS IS FLOGGED BY ANGELS FOR LOOTING THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM
AT THE ORDERS OF THE KING OF SYRIA, 14TH CENTURY.



SCOURGING . . . TYING A PRISONER IN A CELL AND FLOGGING HIM, CIRCA 15TH CENTURY.

Terrorism is terror used as a means to an end. It has a long and bloody history. During the ancient Assyrian empire stretching from 1500-612 BC, officials skinned their prisoners alive and cut off body parts. They found the ripping out of tongues helped subjugate the enemy. As the Greek historian Xenophon wrote in 400 BC, terror as psychological warfare is an effective tool against enemy populations. While it has its roots in power – kill a few, frighten the rest – other roots

stem from powerlessness. The history of terrorism as a form of insurrection against a ruling power dates back at least to the time of Jesus, the time when the Romans reigned over Judea. Although a small nation, Judea sponsored radical Hebrew revolutionaries, the Zealots, who rose up against the Roman empire and drove it into submission for a time. These rebels held the belief that any means were justified to attain political and religious liberty.

unbeliever

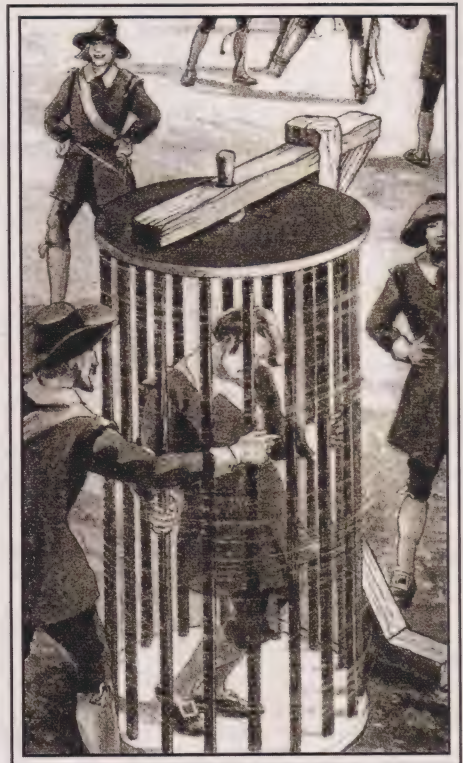
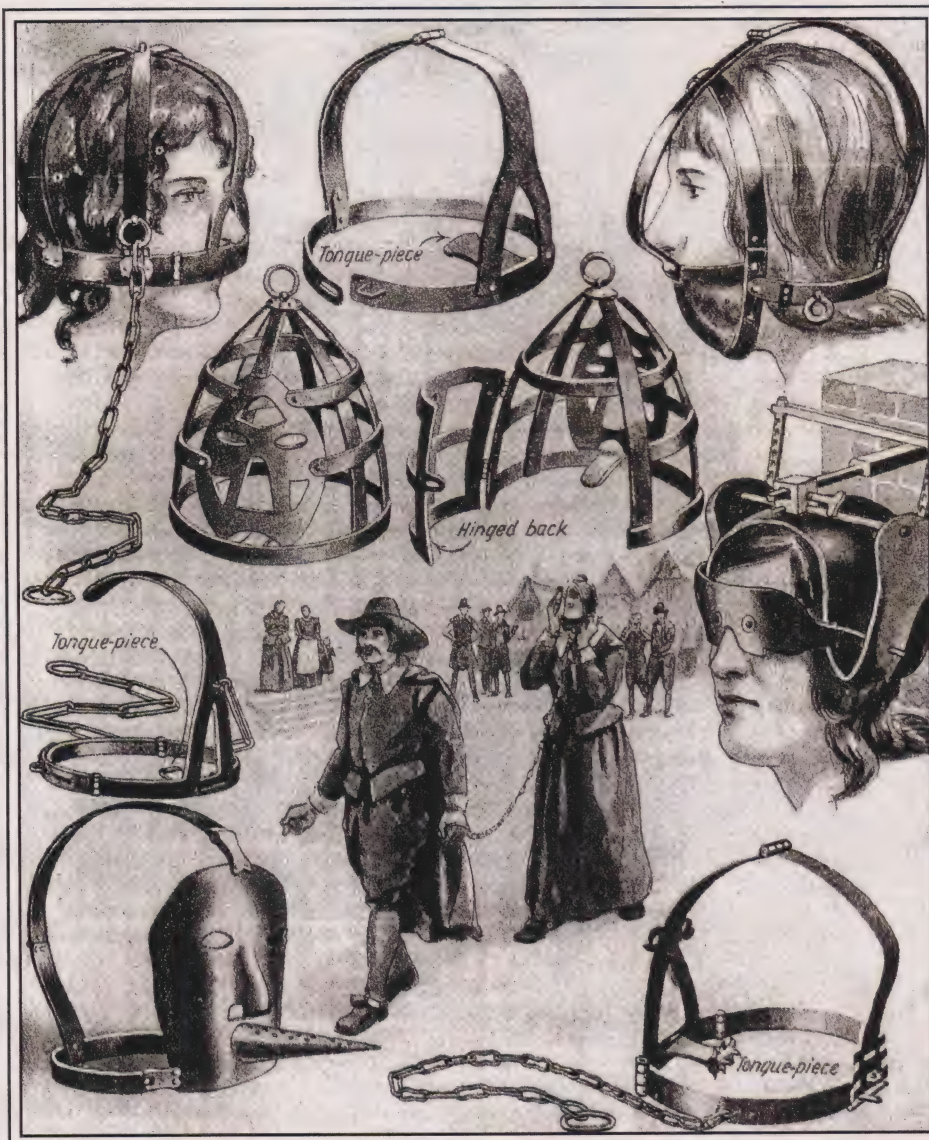


Our father, who art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom
come. Thy will be done, On earth
as it is in heaven. Give us this day
our daily bread. And forgive us our
trespasses, As we forgive those who
trespass against us. And lead us not
into temptation, But deliver us from
evil. For thine is the kingdom, and
the power, and the glory, for ever and
ever. Amen.

THE CAT'S PAW, ALSO CALLED THE 'SPANISH TICKLER' WAS AS LARGE AS FOUR FINGERS
OF A MAN'S HAND. ATTACHED TO A SHORT HANDLE, THE DEVICE WAS USED TO STRIP
FLESH OFF THE VICTIM'S FACE, ABDOMEN, BACK, LIMBS AND BREASTS.



DISEMBOWELLING, 1592.



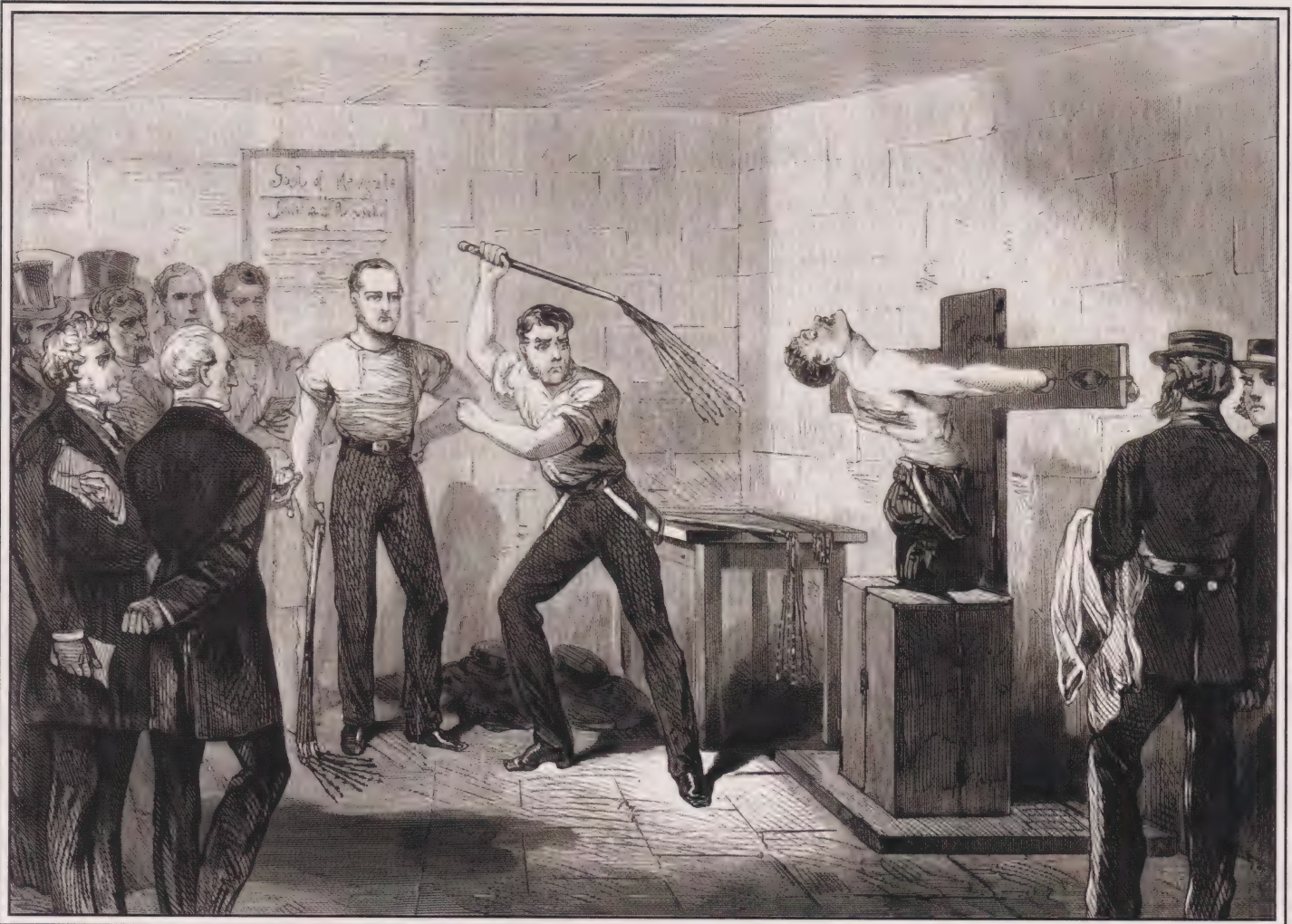
WHIRLIGIG: A CYLINDRICAL CAGE FROM THE 19TH CENTURY IN WHICH THE VICTIM IS SPUN AROUND AT HIGH SPEED.

VARIATIONS OF THE SCOLD'S BRIDLE: FIRST USED IN SCOTLAND IN THE 16TH CENTURY, THE BRIDLE WAS USED TO HUMILIATE WOMEN AND PREVENT THEM FROM TALKING.



FINGER PILLORY FROM THE 17TH CENTURY.

THE CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS WAS A WHIP WITH NINE THICK THREADS, ALLOWING A WHIPPING TO BE NINE TIMES AS SEVERE. HERE, GEORGE SMITH, A MURDERER, RECEIVES THE SIXTH OF HIS THIRTY LASHES WITH THE NINE-TAILS, 1872.





A DESERTER FROM THE BRITISH ARMY IS BRANDED WITH THE LETTER 'D.' SOLDIERS COULD ALSO BE BRANDED WITH A 'C' FOR COWARDICE, 'T' FOR THIEF, OR 'W' FOR WORTHLESS.

The concept of "*terrorisme*" first appeared formally along with the guillotine in the final years of the eighteenth century during the French revolution. Maximilien Robespierre, a member of the Jacobins and the famous Committee of Public Safety, directed a war against counter-revolutionaries, unleashing what became known as the "Reign of Terror." Robespierre proclaimed: "If the spring of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the springs of popular government in revolution

are at once virtue and terror: virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless." Thousands of people were guillotined. In one 47-day stretch, more than 1,376 people were executed. Mad with power, Robespierre himself became a victim of his own terror campaign: after threatening the National Convention, he was arrested and guillotined in 1794.



1793. KING LOUIS XVI'S HEAD IS HELD ALOFT FOR ALL TO SEE.

bourgeois pigs

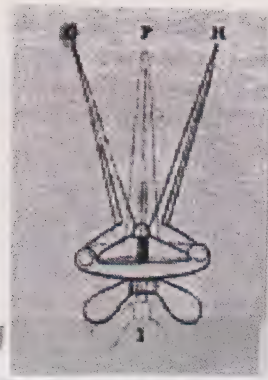


1500-1870: SHIPS DELIVERED AFRICAN SLAVES TO THE AMERICAS WITH THEIR CARGO CHAINED TO THE DECK.

Throughout American history, keeping the black man down has been an organized system of domination governed by terror. In one of the earliest slave rebellions – April 6, 1712, in New York City – about two-dozen slaves set fire to houses and killed several white colonists. After militia units captured them, slaves who didn't commit suicide were tortured and executed. Some were set afire. Others were broken on the wheel. Afterwards, new laws encouraged submission through terror by allowing “master” to punish his slaves as he deemed appropriate.

By 1865, slavery had officially ended with the passing of the 13th Amendment. In its place, a new era of racial terror

emerged: in Southern and border states, the public lynching of blacks by white mobs became a uniquely American invention – an institutionalized terror to preserve the status quo. While most black lynchings brought death by hanging or shooting, others consisted of blacks being maimed, tortured, and then burned at the stake. Of course many politicians and officials supported the “lynch-law,” though early organizers of the Ku Klux Klan, in the 1860s, did not officially advocate violence. Still, terror during Reconstruction escalated under the KKK, which acquired considerable power in small communities. Many blacks in rural Southern areas slept in the woods at night, to escape this terror.



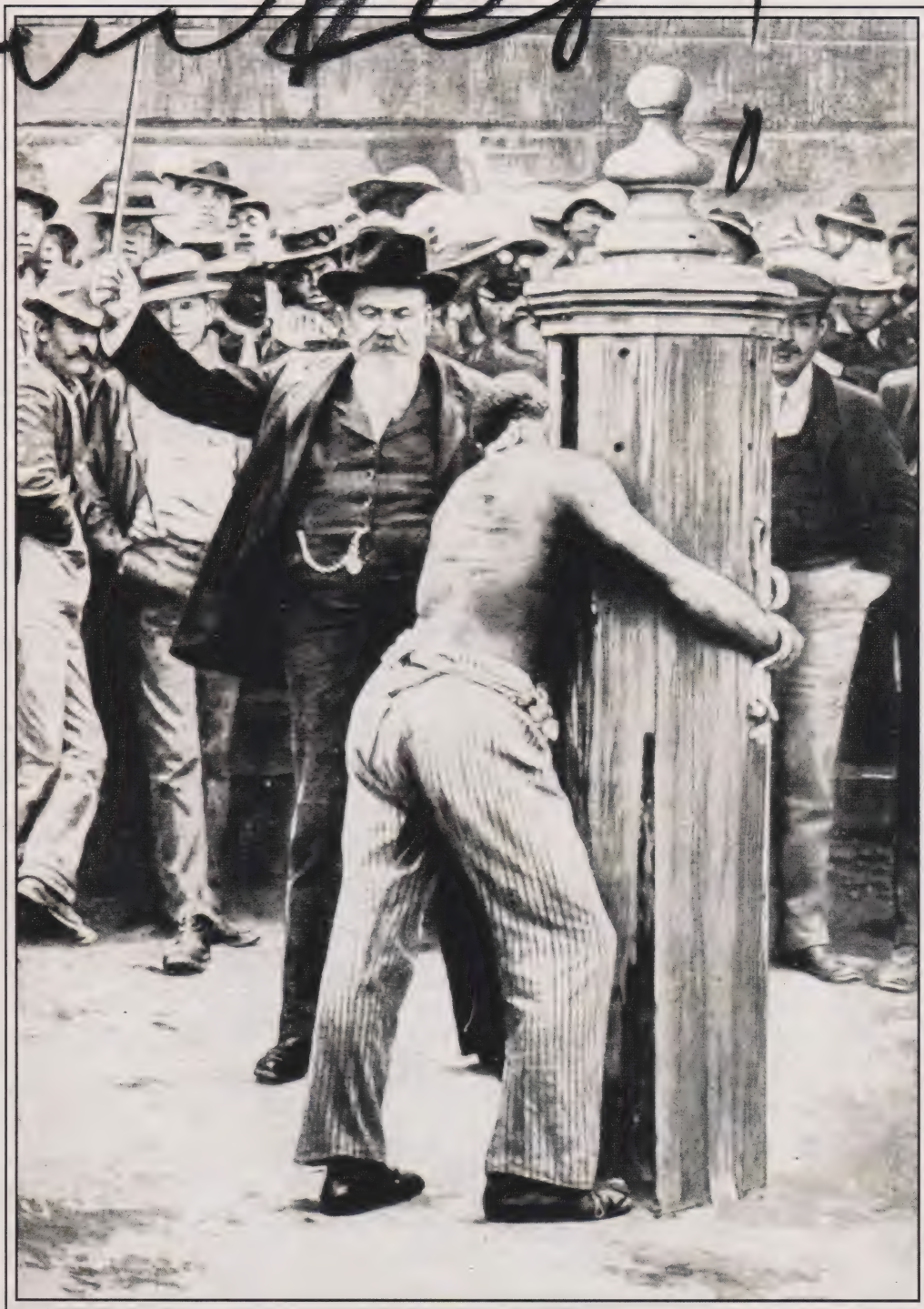
The Speculum Oris was inserted in the mouth to pry the jaws open so food could be forced into the mouths of slaves who wouldn't eat.

Wiggo



1964. THE GRAND DRAGON OF NORTH CAROLINA JAMES R. "BOB" JONES ATTENDS A KU KLUX KLAN RALLY.

Bunker



1908. AN AMERICAN POLICE MAGISTRATE FLOGS A CRIMINAL
IN FRONT OF AN APPROVING CROWD.



1937. A SPANISH REPUBLICAN ACCUSED OF TREASON IS FLOGGED AND LATER SHOT.

Traitor!



BATTLE OF VERDUN, 1916

The horrors of close-contact combat, with one opposing army raining artillery, mortars, poison gas and machine-gun fire upon another reached its zenith in the Great War. In three months of trench warfare on the Somme in April 1916, Britain saw 419,654 men killed, wounded, missing, or captured. Poet John Masefield called the trench the "long grave already dug." Robert Kee, an English military writer, called the trenches "the Concentration Camps of the First World War."

These horrors were not to be repeated in future wars. Greater horrors would be unleashed instead. War at a distance, inflicted on civilians as a form of "terror bombing" became a new philosophy borne of technological advances first achieved at the end of WWI. In its wake, a general in the British War Cabinet envisioned future wars with aerial "devastation of enemy lands and destruction of industrial and populous centers on a vast scale." Other European politicians and military men

believed the same. Lee Kennett notes in *A History of Strategic Bombing* that many came to believe that perhaps the "quickest way to victory was through terror."

Former British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, addressing the House of Commons in 1932, stated: "No power on earth could protect the man in the street from bombing. The bomber will always get through . . . You have got to kill more women and children quicker than the enemy if you want to save yourselves." During the Spanish Civil War, the philosophy of war waged from high above began to be applied in practice. In 1937, the Luftwaffe tested new bombing techniques on Guernica, killing 1,500 civilians. Then, in 1938, bombers struck Barcelona, an event that *Scientific American* called "curtain raisers on insane dramas to come." The insane dramas of WWII gave ultimate test to the later philosophy of terror unleashed from the sky.



"THERE WAS ABOUT A SCORE IN ALL, AND WE WERE CHARMED WITH THE BEAUTY OF THE SIGHT... THEN FOUR MORE, OR FIVE, IN A LINE AND OTHERS, ALL LIGHT BRIGHT SILVER INSECTS HOVERING AGAINST THE BLUE OF THE SKY."

"Then four more, or five,

in a line and others,

all light bright silver

insects hovering against

the blue of the sky."

Incendiary bombs, filled with highly combustible chemicals like napalm were dropped in clusters over target areas during WWII. The technique is gruesome. Once the bombed area catches fire, air above it becomes intensely hot; cold air then rushes in at ground level with hurricane force, literally sucking people into a wind-generated firestorm with temperatures exceeding 1,400° F.

In February 1945, Arthur Harris, head of RAF Bomber Command, decided to create just such a firestorm in the medieval city of Dresden, Germany – a city of great historical and cultural beauty, with little or no military importance. Until this time, Dresden had been left unscathed by the war, but had also seen a recent dramatic increase in population due to large numbers of refugees fleeing an advancing Soviet army. Fourteen-hundred Allied bombers carried high explosive bombs to expose the buildings of their wooden structures, and incendiary bombs to set them afire.

The firestorms that resulted created magnificent terror. Winds ripped the roofs off houses, tossed trees, cars and lorries into the air and sucked oxygen out of bomb shelters. Ingrid Rimland writes that the raid was, "Far heavier than the first [raid] – there were twice as many bombers with a far heavier

load of incendiaries – its target markers had been deliberately placed in order to spread the fires into the black rectangle which was all the airmen could see of the Grosse Garten. Within minutes, the firestorm was raging across the grass, ripping up some trees and littering the branches of others with clothes, bicycles and dismembered limbs that remained hanging for days afterwards."

More than 100,000 people were killed, many suffocated or burned to death. Out of an estimated 28,410 houses in central Dresden, 24,866 are said to have been pulverized. Fifteen square kilometers were totally destroyed, including 72 schools, 22 hospitals, 19 churches, five theaters, 50 bank and insurance companies, 31 department stores, 31 large hotels and 62 administration buildings. The number who died in three days is said to be more than double all civilians killed in Britain by German bombardments during WWII.

One month after the Dresden bombing, Winston Churchill noted, "It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, should be reviewed. Otherwise we shall come into control of an utterly ruined land."



BERGEN-BELSEN, 1945

Hitler's plan for the destruction of the European Jews and other peoples became a reality known as the Holocaust. Historians distinguish the Nazi Holocaust from previous genocides in its use of a highly efficient killing apparatus. The Nazis made detailed lists of all of their victims – present and future, real and potential – and kept meticulous records of the slaughter.

The workings of this elaborate killing machine were themselves the product of systematic efforts to construct “better” ways of killing and disposing of bodies. Mobile killing units called “Einsatzgruppen” were used, for example, to carry out the mass-murder of about one million Jewish men, women and children. At Auschwitz-Birkenau, the largest of the killing centers, four large gas chambers employed Zyklon B (cyanide) to kill *en masse*.

On the question of the complicity of the German people, much has been said and years of study have been invested. Yet, whatever the answer, it's clear that the same question applies with near-equal force to the US and other western nations, all of which failed to act. Indeed, the US acted much

like German citizens in the 1930s, most all of whom chose to let things go according to plan. The US press reported on Nazi violence toward Jews as early as 1933, and by 1938 published reports of anti-Jewish measures like the Nuremberg Laws (enforcing “racial purity”), noting that anti-Semitic violence was increasing at a dramatic pace. By 1941, newspapers gave descriptions of the mass murder of Jews, even characterizing the killings as a form of “extermination.”

On August 1, 1942, a representative of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland obtained intelligence of a Nazi plan to exterminate all the Jews in Europe. He then asked that the American consulate pass on this information to the US government. Ultimately, however, the State Department suppressed it. In December 1942, the Allied governments finally released a formal declaration condemning Hitler's extermination policy. Most major newspapers in the US responded by burying them behind their front pages. The end result: in 1933, the Jewish population of Europe was greater than nine million; by 1945, close to two out of every three European Jews had been killed.





In 1962, the RAND Corporation was hired by the Pentagon to study the possibility of America fighting and winning a war against Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam. Code named "Omega," a simulation of a 10-year conflict was carried out by RAND over the course of a week with military leaders assigned to each side. The simulation showed that by the theoretical end-date of 1972, the communists were all over the map of Indochina, including Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Although they suffered mass casualties, the communist's command structure remained intact and half a million American troops had been drawn into an unwinnable war. Some US officials were impressed with the results and thereafter doubted the merits of embarking on such a war. Many others, however, were skeptical, choosing to believe that the war game suffered from one serious flaw: RAND had underestimated the Air Force's ability to bomb the North Vietnamese into submission. When the game was run again, the results remained essentially the same.

In 1964, Defense secretary Robert S. McNamara, unimpressed by either virtual trouncing, advised President Lyndon Johnson to adopt a policy of gradual escalation in Vietnam. To give a "pleasing look of science" to the whole affair, McNamara applied a Harvard Business School management tool called "system analysis." Developed in 1945, this pseudo-scientific enterprise essentially "proved" the inevitability of America succeeding in Vietnam. "Since my years at Harvard, I had gone by the rule that it is not enough to conceive of an objective and a plan to carry it out," wrote McNamara years later. "You must monitor the plan to determine whether you are achieving the objective . . . So we

measured the targets destroyed in the North, the traffic down the Ho Chi Minh Trail, the weapons seized, the enemy body count, etc. Obviously there are things you cannot quantify: honor and beauty for example. But things you can count you ought to count. Loss of life is one when you are fighting a war of attrition."

In 1965, with the McNamara-based war philosophy in place and with orders from President Johnson, the US military began a sustained campaign of aerial bombardment against North Vietnam, code-named "Operation Rolling Thunder." The campaign was first conceived as a warning to Ho Chi Minh that his ambitions to take over South Vietnam would be met with extreme violence. Two years into the campaign, a worried McNamara sent a memo to LBJ stressing in part that "The picture of the world's greatest superpower killing or seriously injuring 1,000 noncombatants a week, while trying to pound a tiny backward nation into submission on an issue whose merits are hotly disputed, is not a pretty one." Under the McNamara-based policy, much of the Vietnamese countryside had been declared a free-fire zone and by war's end, almost four million Vietnamese, mostly civilians, had been killed.

Although the meaning of "*terrorisme*" has been disputed since it was first coined during the French Revolution, one distinctive aspect agreed upon by experts is the deliberate use of civilians as targets to cause public shock, outrage and fear; experts also insist that terrorism often fails to produce the results desired by the those who commit it. Vietnam was no exception.



VIETNAM, MARCH 1966

Ingenzi



We saw many faces of death during the genocide . . . For a long time I completely wiped the death masks of raped and sexually mutilated girls and women from my mind as if what had been done to them was the last thing that would send me over the edge. But if you looked you could see the evidence, even in the whitened skeletons. The legs bent and apart. A broken bottle, a rough branch, even a knife between them. Where the bodies were fresh, we saw what must have been semen pooled on and near the dead women and girls. There was always a lot of blood. Some male corpses had their genitals cut off,

but many women and young girls had their breasts chopped off and their genitals crudely cut apart. They died in a position of total vulnerability, flat on their backs, with their legs bent and knees wide apart. It was the expression on their dead faces that assaulted me the most, a frieze of shock, pain and humiliation. For many years after I came home, I banished the memories of those faces from my mind, but they have come back, all too clearly.

Gen. Roméo Dallaire
Shake Hands with the Devil (Random House, 2004)

Between early April and mid-July 1994, the majority ethnic group in Rwanda, the Hutu, slaughtered upwards of a million Tutsi. In one hundred days of genocide few were spared. A relief worker in Rwanda wrote later that "children were abused and killed like anyone else, children received machete blows to their heads, children were shot, children were stoned, children were executed after listening to long speeches proclaimed in front of them about why they must be killed as accomplices – children were witness to all these heinous and bloody events." The radical Hutu leaders who orchestrated the mass killings were determined to leave no Tutsis behind who could tell of what took place. Like the Nazi genocide of the Jews before them, and like the Young Turk party's slaughter of more than one million Armenians in 1915, these leaders saw Hutus who failed to join in with the killing to be sympathetic to the Tutsis and thus needed killing too. This led to a surprisingly high proportion of Hutu professionals – local officials, doctors, judges, even human rights workers – who actively participated in the genocide. It also meant that traditional places of shelter like churches, hospitals and schools became the worst slaughterhouses. As the terror spread, fear became incendiary under a logic of kill or be killed. Indeed, not only did everyday Hutus kill their Tutsi neighbors, they also killed other Hutus, including sometimes family members.

The Rwanda genocide shows how the greatest terror can rain down on a certain place in the world in almost random fashion, as if from a dark cloud that encircles the globe. Or does it? The Rwanda genocide was in fact not an arbitrary 100-day random moment in history – a spontaneous disaster born of racial hatred and runaway fear. It was rather the product of a more than 100-year history of outside, Western influence.

Late in the nineteenth century, when most of Africa fell under colonial rule, western beliefs were imposed upon the people of Rwanda, including specious racial beliefs not unlike those promulgated by Hitler a half-century later. For reasons that were quite arbitrary, Belgian colonists powers defined the Tutsis as of Aryan or Caucasoid background and the Hutus of Negroid or Bantu background. This artificial hierarchy acquired even greater legal status in the 1930s. To formalize who should be included among the ruling Tutsis, the 10-cow

rule was established: those who had fewer than 10 cows on the day of census were Hutu; those with 10 or greater were Tutsi. With this pseudo-racial classification instituted, the remainder of the twentieth century consisted of escalating clashes between Hutus and Tutsi, with a growing fixation on "racial purity."

In 1968, an American school-teacher from Iowa, Jane Elliott, gave a demonstration that explains the Rwanda disaster that followed. Ms. Elliott taught racial purity to her fourth-grade students by instructing them that "people with blue eyes are lazy, rude and more stupid than brown eyed ones," and cannot be trusted. After dividing the blue-eyed from the brown-eyed, she gave the "browns" special rights, such as taking a second helping at lunch, extended recess, and bossing around the "blues." Ms. Elliott recalled later that "it was just horrifying how quickly they became what I told them they were." Within 30 minutes, she says, a blue-eyed girl named Carol was transformed from a "brilliant, self-confident, carefree, excited little girl to a frightened, timid, uncertain little almost-person." Meanwhile, the "browns" thrived under the new status, some showing unprecedented academic abilities. However, they also became "arrogant, ugly, domineering, overbearing" children. Like the Tutsi and Hutus, neither of the two "groups" in Ms. Elliott's class showed any signs of "racial division" prior to being taught the bogus classification by an outside authority. That the division was constructed was also demonstrated by Elliott, who after a day of teaching that the brown-eyed kids were superior, explained her mistake and taught the very opposite. In 1959, colonial influences in Rwanda made a similar move, establishing the Hutus as now superior over the minority Tutsi. A former president of Rwanda, Pasteur Bizimungu, pointed out in 1996 that, "quite interestingly, since 1959, when [a new] strategy relegated the Tutsis to underclass status, some Hutus . . . developed an aristocratic mentality . . . that [they] are born to rule. All these stereotypes, which are still being repeated and which have had an unprecedented impact on the people of Rwanda, are rubbish." Rather than showing empathy, the Hutus reigned over the Tutsi with even greater severity, just as did the "blues" over the "browns." Throughout the 1960s thousands of Tutsis were massacred and expelled. By 1994, the "final solution" had arrived.

Just as most people living in North America have, at most, only a background fear of being a victim of terrorism – domestic or otherwise – most believe they're even less likely to become terrorists themselves. While both assumptions are probably safe ones, being a terrorist and being capable of terrorism are two different things. The caveat is an important one, for there is a wide array of psychological studies showing that, as a whole, people are capable of much worst deeds than they might ever dream – a fact that no doubt explains why the history of organized terror and violence is also so vast and so ugly.

Exhibit A: In the 1960s, a pioneering researcher at Yale University named Stanley Milgram conducted a series of now famous studies on punishment that gave invaluable insight into the nature of torture and brutality. Subjects were told they were part of a study testing the effects of punishment on learning. The subject was known as “the teacher,” rather than “the learner,” and thus also became the punisher – although he or she was led to believe that these roles were determined randomly. The learner (one of Milgram's assistants), was placed

in an adjacent room and hooked up to electrodes for shocking purposes. The “teacher” was then seated before a mock “shock generator,” which had thirty switches labelled from 15 volts (marked “slight shock”) to 450 volts (marked “danger! – severe shock”). At this point the “teacher” was told that the study would test the learner's ability to memorize and that he or she should administer a shock whenever the learner made a mistake – and that he or she should increase the intensity after each error.

Psychologists asked to predict the results of this scenario almost unanimously agreed that only a rare few would give the maximum (450 volts) punishment. But instead, 65 percent of subjects administered the final 450-volt “shock,” and no subject stopped before administering a hair-curling 300 volts. Of course the learner never actually received any shocks, although this is not what the subjects or “teachers” were told.

These people were not held at gunpoint, were not participating in a cult ceremony, and they were not acting out of a frenzy of fear. They were just following orders.

Exhibit B: In the summer of 1971, Stanford researcher Philip



Covert Operations

"Looking down this room, one saw, creeping slowly, a line of dangling hogs a hundred yards in length; and for every yard there was a man, working as if a demon were after him. At the end of this hog's progress every inch of the carcass had been gone over several times; and then it was rolled into the chilling room, where it stayed for twenty-four hours, and where a stranger might lose himself in a forest of freezing hogs."

Upton Sinclair, 1906



"What is truly startling in this mass transition from life to death is the complete neutrality of the act . . . How far the question is justified we do not know, nevertheless it may be asked: Has this neutrality toward death had any further effect upon us? . . . It may be lodged deep in the roots of our time. It did not bare itself on a large scale until the [Great] War, when whole populations, as defenseless as the animals hooked head downwards on the traveling chain, were obliterated with trained neutrality."

Siegfried Giedion, 1958

"When did a sheep last die of old age? Sheep do not own themselves, do not own their own lives. They exist to be used, every last ounce of them, their flesh to be eaten, their bones to be crushed and fed to poultry . . . We are surrounded by an enterprise of degradation, cruelty, and killing which rivals anything the Third Reich was capable of, indeed dwarfs it, in that ours is an enterprise without end, self-regenerating, bringing rabbits, rats, poultry, livestock ceaselessly into the world for the purpose of killing them."

J. M. Coetzee, 1999

"The killing of animals and fowl goes on relentlessly day by day in sequestered, foul-smelling buildings in cities, towns, villages, and in rural areas all across the continent. Our whole Western culture floats upon a veritable sea of blood and gore."

Tom Harpur, 2003

Zimbardo created a mock prison in a laboratory basement at the university. He then used 21 healthy male undergraduate volunteers as subjects to role-play guards and prisoners. Nine of the students were randomly selected to be "prisoners," while the rest were divided into three shifts of "guards," who worked around the clock. Each participant was paid \$15 a day for two weeks.

Zimbardo was not messing around. Once assigned as a prisoner, you were picked up in a police car, spread-eagled, cuffed, blindfolded and taken to prison where you were stripped naked, sprayed down and jailed. As the researchers soon found, once in the mock prison, the "prisoners" and "guards" were totally transformed by the situation. Zimbardo: "In only a few days, our guards became sadistic and our prisoners became depressed and showed signs of extreme stress." For example, following a rebellion by the prisoners, "the guards broke into each cell, stripped the prisoners naked, took the beds out, forced the ringleaders of the prisoner rebellion into solitary confinement, and generally began to

harass and intimidate the prisoners."

The experiment was halted after six days. Just prior to this, though, Zimbardo did something that showed the degree of the transformation that had taken place. "At this point in the study, I invited a Catholic priest who had been a prison chaplain to evaluate how realistic our prison situation was, and the result was truly Kafkaesque. The chaplain interviewed each prisoner individually, and I watched in amazement as half the prisoners introduced themselves by number rather than name. After some small talk, he popped the key question: 'Son, what are you doing to get out of here?' When the prisoners responded with puzzlement, he explained that the only way to get out of prison was with the help of a lawyer. He then volunteered to contact their parents to get legal aid if they wanted him to, and some of the prisoners accepted his offer." Zimbardo's mock prison affected psychological changes to such a degree that people essentially disappeared. "[The guards] were all peaceniks," he recalled. "They became like Nazis." www.prisonexp.org



I have been stored in warehouses labeled hospitals. I have endured weekly lectures termed therapy. I have been zapped until my brain burns white. I have been held down, tied down, put down. I have had pills forced down my throat and needles plunged into my flesh. All this to make me "normal," a mould I will never fit.

CR03M!



I was put on a concoction of Stelazine, Thorazine, Elavin, Prolixin, and then stuff for the side effects like Artane and Benadryl. I gained 50 pounds on these drugs. My mouth would be so dry that I would have to swallow some water before I talked or ate. I felt absolutely horrible. This, combined with the staff's superior attitude . . . just destroyed my self-esteem.

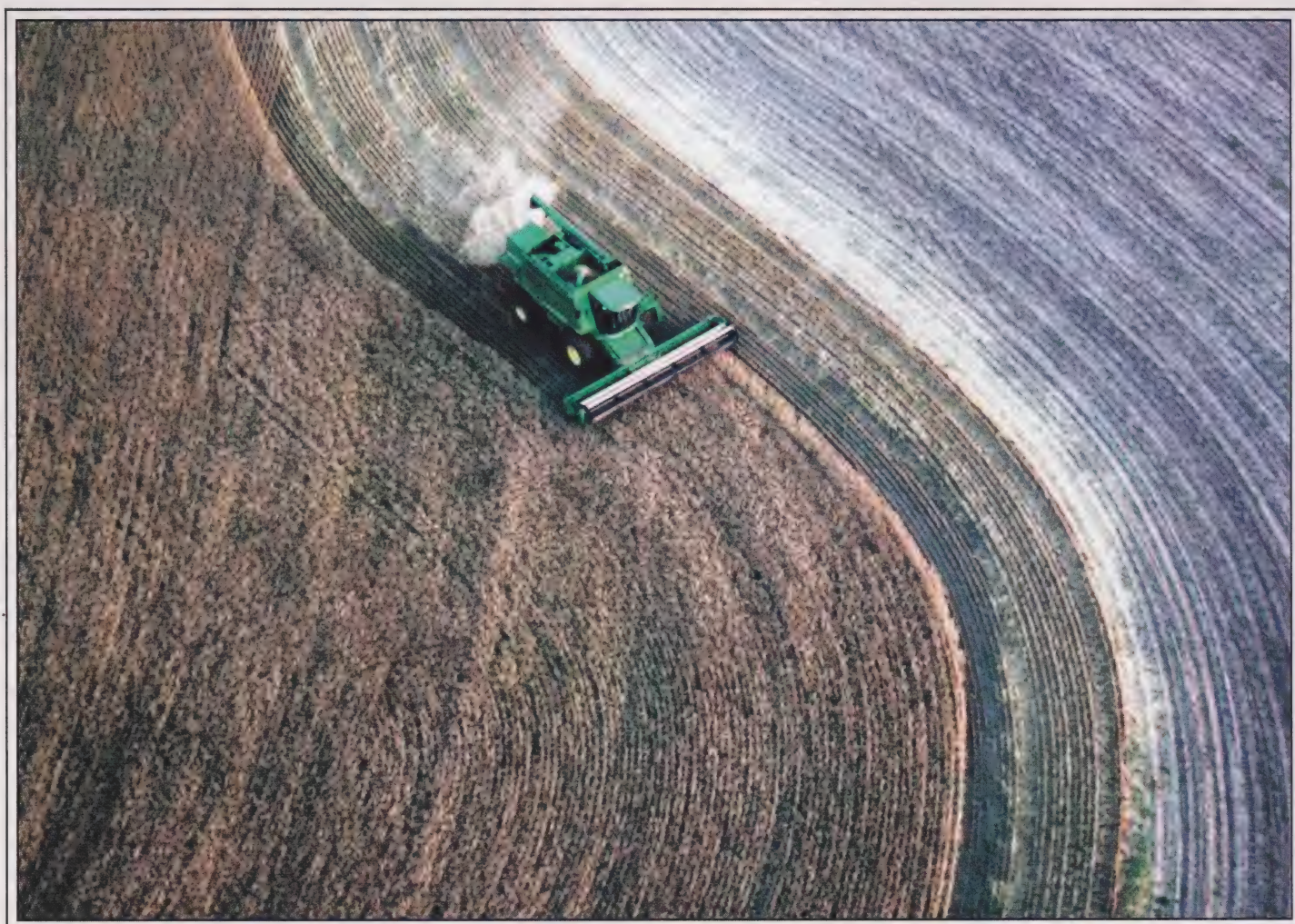
Over the years the labels changed from Schizophrenia, Schizoaffective, Depression, Anxiety Disorder, Bipolar, Borderline Personality — you name it. The drugs and their effects would change over the years as well. For 11 years, Lithium gave me chronic diarrhoea and left me with a lingering salty taste. Lithium replacement, Depakote, made my body swell up and caused my kidneys to fail before I went off it.

Q: In these times of “a war against terrorism,” and preparing against “bioterrorism” and “germ warfare,” do you not find it interesting, telling, and ironic in a dark and cynical way that it is the Western, industrialized nations that are waging a form of biological terrorism, sanctioned and masked by legal regulations imposed by the WTO and its legal codes, like Intellectual Property Rights. Would you agree that the imposition of GMO – genetically modified organism – through WTO, NAFTA, and IMF, on the so-called developing world is a form of “legalized biotech and biological” terrorism? And then, as a corollary, what are the prospects for global justice and equity in light precisely of the yawning gap between developed and underdeveloped nations that is further deepened by the asymmetrical access to technologies like genetic engineering and genomic mapping?

A: Though I understand what you are getting at I do not think it is very useful to use this label (biological terrorism) for this phenomenon. The point, however, is well taken. The way in which corporations are encroaching around the most sensitive points of the food chain is dangerous: they direct the evolution of new crops from the processing end, disregarding nutritional properties if they conflict with industrial ones; the

same corporations which own oil (and hence fertilizers and herbicides) also own seed companies and other key inputs to farming; and those same corporations are now transferring genes from one species to another in perverse ways (genes for herbicide resistance transferred from weeds to crops). When one couples these kind of facts with the old ones about the link between colonialism and the conversion of many world areas into food supply zones for Europe (from the creation of sugar plantations to the taking over of the photosynthetically most active areas of the world by Europe’s ex-colonies) we can realize that this state of affairs does have consequences for equity and justice. The key point is not to oversimplify: the Green Revolution, for example, failed not because of the biological aspect, but because of the economic one. The very real biological benefits (plants bred to have more edible biomass) could only be realized under economies of scale and these have many hidden costs (power concentration, deskilling of workforce) which can offset the purely technical benefits.

From an interview with Manuel de Landa, author of War in the Age of Intelligent Machines. Originally published by the electronic journal CTHEORY. <www.ctheory.net>



MICROTERROR

"Anywhere, Any Time, Any Way . . . Visa. How the world pays." Indeed, this was exactly our *Visa* experience recently at *Adbusters*. And pay we did. Months ago, an order was placed for 100 corporate flags with the \$2,500 bill paid by *Visa*. No problem. A short while later the same people placed another order: 250 flags. As we were pondering whether this order was legit, we learned from *Visa* that the original \$2,500 was paid on a bad credit card. *Visa* got stuffed \$2,500. We disregarded the second order – and that should have been the end of the story.

But it wasn't. *Visa* instead decided to freeze our entire account. They did not freeze \$2,500 of incoming credit card payments, something they would have had no basis for doing, but rather froze every incoming dollar paid to us by subscribers, via *Visa*. Because we had nothing to do with the \$2,500 charge-back, we figured the matter would quickly be solved. It wasn't. As the hold began looking disturbingly indefinite, *Visa* gave no explanation for their move – not the local *Visa*, the head Canadian office in Ontario, or even the big-head office in New York, aka "Global Exchange." The latter makes all decisions of this nature, we're told, and Global Exchange quickly proved itself to be the epitome of centralized bureaucracy: all communication was one way and

all power was located on the other side. They made no formal accusation, gave no explanation or time-line, answered no questions, and offered no response to our letters or phone calls. In essence, we were a Joseph K. caught in a Kafkaesque trial. When we made a formal complaint to the small-claims court in Vancouver our bank responded by saying that it was not "a local matter."

Pretty soon *Visa* was holding \$50,000 of our revenue (not a laughing matter for any non-profit) and the only recourse would have been to stop using *Visa* altogether, an option that isn't feasible for an international organization such as ours. Two years ago, a financial derailment of this kind would have kept us from paying our printing bill – a shortfall that in turn would have meant the magazine going off-line, and thus falling further into a financial rabbit hole.

In the end, after three months of pulling our hair out and banging our heads against the concrete wall of the bureaucratic machine, the account was released. With it came no apology, no explanation and no sense that the same corporate lockdown could not happen again. In fact, a month later *Visa* made the same move, holding \$2,500. We have no idea why. Probably never will. "Anywhere, Any Time . . . Visa."

MACROTERROR

Billy Tiller and Mama Idrissou are both cotton farmers. While they share some things in common – both are in their thirties, both learned farming from their fathers; both have several children – a big difference divides them: whereas Tiller grows cotton in the High Plains of west Texas, Idrissou farms his cotton in the west African state of Benin.

From a pure farming point of view, the Benin farmers clearly have it better. The Texan land where Tiller grows his cotton is difficult to work. This is because the climate allows for too many extremes; droughts as well as floods, frost as well as heatwaves. It is also difficult because there is no irrigation, so he depends solely on rainfall. In May 2002, Tiller planted 1,611 hectares of cotton; by August, he had only 21 hectares. Idrissou's farm, at just 30 hectares, is minute in comparison. Still, because of better growing conditions, this small parcel yields the same amount of hectares as does Tiller's, and most are more productive. In a poor season, Idrissou might get four times as much cotton per hectare as Tiller, and in a good one, eight.

One might look at this and think the "big difference" between Tiller and Idrissou is the land. In fact, the opposite is true, thanks to where Billy Tiller lives. Because of the global market for cotton, of how globalization affects Billy Tiller and Mama Idrissou differently, Tiller is actually better off. The reason why is that, whether or not Tiller's cotton matures,

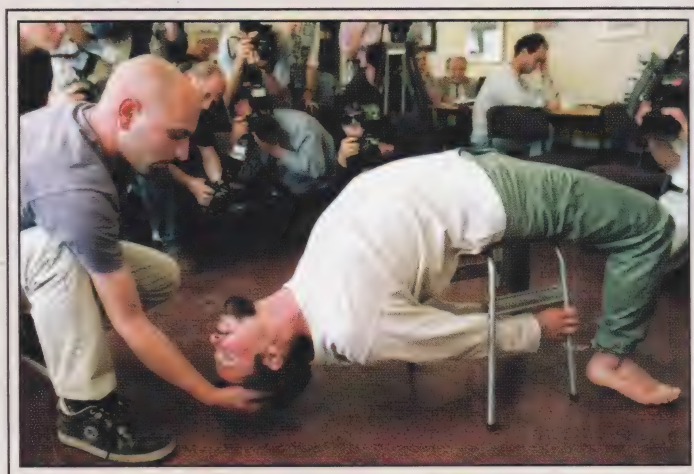
he receives a subsidy cheque from the federal government. The county where Tiller farms produces about 3 percent of the world's cotton, yet between 1995 and 2002, its cotton farmers received subsidies of \$1.3 billion. This is good news for Tiller, but bad news for Idrissou. Those yearly subsidies keep the price of cotton artificially low, crushing farmers like Idrissou who receive no subsidies.

Making matters worse in Benin are privatization programmes driven by global institutions. These programmes, imposed on the farmers by the IMF and the World Bank, take the money from cotton sales by individual farmers and use it to pay for local projects, or for debt relief. "There's a lot of poverty in the village now because we're not able to use the only source of money we have," one farmer reports. "We can grow food to eat, but only growing cotton brings money. We're getting poorer and poorer. We're losing a lot of community projects because when we are offered one, we're asked to contribute part of the money, and we can't give the small amount required. We lost a health centre project because we couldn't pay. And a project for a public water pump. Right now we only have one clear water source in the village, and many people are obliged to go to the swamp for water."

(Source: "The subsidies gap," by James Meek, *The Guardian*, September 8, 2003).



1998. ISRAELI ACTORS DEMONSTRATE TWO OF THEIR GOVERNMENT'S TORTURE TECHNIQUES. "QAS'AT A-TAWLEH" (L) INVOLVES THE APPLICATION OF PRESSURE TO THE BACK OF THE NECK OF A HANDCUFFED DETAINEE. THE "BANANA B'KISEH" (R) TECHNIQUE STRETCHES THE DETAINEE OVER A CHAIR LIKE A BANANA.



In Niccolo Machiavelli's *The Prince*, the sixteenth-century political philosopher noted that rulers should either treat people well or crush them entirely. Injured slightly, they will exact revenge; crushed, they are incapable of it. This advice is played out forcefully in the Middle East. In Israel, the use of overwhelming force has become a guiding policy, particularly under Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

How is it, many have asked, that the Jewish people – so often persecuted, ghettoized, and made refugees – should create a state that persecutes, ghettoizes and makes refugees of a weaker minority? Is it inevitable that, once in power, the oppressed becomes the oppressor? Or is it the deep primal fear – kill or be killed – that Machiavelli draws upon, that leaves no room for justice or mercy? Is terrorism, whether committed by states or individual actors, always rooted in a fear of annihilation?

Established in 1948, Israel was born out of the Nazi holocaust. The West, guilty of inaction (its moral culpability exposed by the gas chambers of Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz) lent support to the small colony of European Jews that had begun immigrating to what was then Palestine in the late 19th century. And if the rights of the native Arabs of Palestine were trampled, it was no different from the way the natives of North

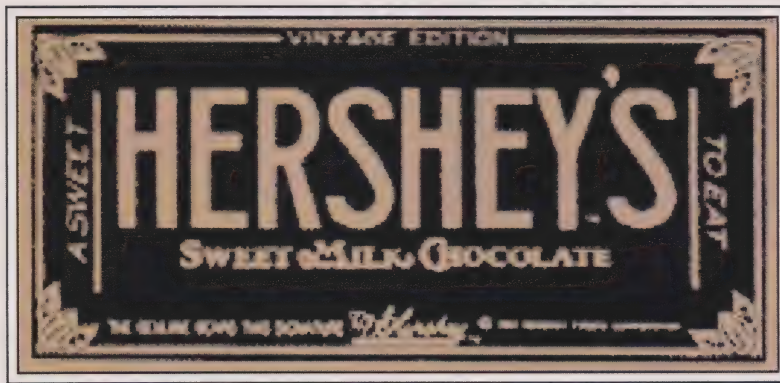
and South America were treated by European settlers on their own colonial projects.

In the decades since Israel was established, millions of Palestinians have been driven off their land and had their villages and refugee camps besieged by one of the world's most sophisticated armies, financed and supported by the US. They have watched their homes destroyed by Israeli military decree, their neighborhoods bombed in "targeted assassinations," their children imprisoned, tortured, or killed without trial, their land and water expropriated for use by Jewish settlers, their schools turned into Israeli army bases. A ghetto is under construction in the occupied West Bank, trapping Palestinians in small enclaves and cutting them off from even more of their land.

But Palestinians have yet to be crushed entirely. Perhaps unconsciously, they have adopted the same technique of "asymmetrical warfare" used by Jewish resistance fighters against the well-armed Nazis in the Warsaw Ghetto. Suicide bombers have killed hundreds of Israeli civilians, making the otherwise invisible war visible. Some have armed themselves with stones, homemade explosives, Molotov cocktails or kitchen knives. This refusal to succumb, if Machiavelli is correct, is part of the problem.



APRIL 2002. PALESTINIANS DRAG THE BODY OF A SUSPECTED COLLABORATOR ALONG A HEBRON STREET IN THE WEST BANK. INFORMANTS FOR ISRAEL ARE COMMON AND RECEIVE LITTLE PAYMENT. HUNDREDS OF SUSPECTED COLLABORATORS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AND KILLED SINCE THE FIRST INTIFADA, IN 1987. OFTEN FOLLOWING A CURSORY TRIAL, CONVICTED INFORMANTS ARE TAKEN TO THE LOCAL STREET OR SQUARE AND SUMMARILY EXECUTED. FEAR OF THE "ENEMY WITHIN" BREEDS MISTRUST AND SUSPICION THROUGHOUT PALESTINIAN SOCIETY.



Freedom, liberty, and the prospect of an ever-brighter future have been associated with America like no nation. Live free or die – that was the motto of the early American freedom fighters who drove out British imperialists. The poem by Emma Lazarus for the Statue of Liberty . . . “Give me your tired, your poor/Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . .” The world breathed it in and believed. The American story inspired Eastern Europeans chafing under the Soviet empire. It fed their love of jazz, their dreams of New York and New Orleans. It encouraged the idea of living a new life, reading what one wants, practicing one’s religion and voicing one’s views, free of fear. This was the narrative that followed young American soldiers liberating concentration camps, and of the benevolent occupations in Germany and Japan. It was also the story of the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s which became a blueprint for similar movements across Europe.

If the story of America as the greatest nation has run into trouble from time to time – over the bombing and chemical weapons used in Korea and Vietnam, over the atomic blasting of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or over its support (or creation) of anti-democratic regimes in Iran or Chile – there was always enough believers, and there was always enough accumulated international goodwill for the myth of America as perhaps the greatest nation to prevail. And for Americans themselves, steeped in a theological nationalism of good versus evil dating back to their Calvinist roots, this script was so often repeated in the 20th century that thinking anything else became unimaginable. It was almost as if the US was a redeemer nation with origins divine.



“AS THE YEAR ENDED, 1950’S MAN SEEMED TO BE AN AMERICAN IN THE BITTERLY UNWELCOME ROLE OF THE FIGHTING-MAN. IT WAS NOT A ROLE THE AMERICAN HAD SOUGHT, EITHER AS AN INDIVIDUAL OR AS A NATION. THE U.S. FIGHTING-MAN WAS NOT CIVILIZATION’S CRUSADER, BUT DESTINY’S DRAFTEE.” FROM THE COVER STORY OF TIME MAGAZINE’S PERSON OF THE YEAR AWARD IN 1950, GIVEN TO ‘THE AMERICAN FIGHTING-MAN.’

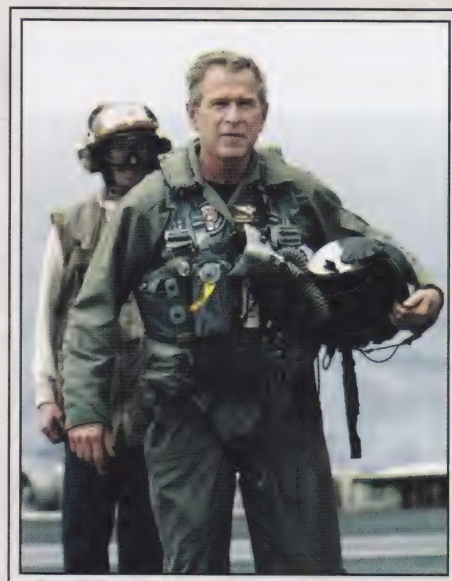


Since 9/11, however, things have changed. With the Patriot Act, the anti-terrorist campaigns, and the preemptive war in Iraq that followed, or even earlier, with the Bush administration rejection of the International Criminal Court; the Kyoto Protocol, etc, America left the commons and entered the wilderness. It's not the end of history, but it may well be the end of a grand epoch in America's history.

Meanwhile, buffered by a corporate media empire, Americans are slow to notice the changing worldview of their "homeland" and its "security." For a growing many, this nation is looking less like a world leader and more like an international threat. Is America now so different from everywhere else that it is becoming a problem for the world, not a solution? This question, asked by *The Economist*, is what America should be asking itself. "It is not just a reckless Bush administration leading America astray, in other words," *The Economist* continues. "On this view, the United States is now inherently assertive and unilateralist, and so can no longer be trusted to lead the world. Instead, it should be feared."

What is becoming clear, meanwhile, is that America's black and white characterization of good versus evil doesn't quite fit anymore. To a growing many, what is labeled terrorism is viewed as no more evil than America as the world's arms supplier; to a growing many the suicide bomber is viewed as no more cowardly than the decision-makers far away who send planes to drop bombs from high above. The rest of the world has seen a different story – the director's cut, if you will – of Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Iran, Nicaragua, Chile, Panama, Lebanon, Haiti, Palestine, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

"America is great because she is good. If America ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." These words, attributed to Alexis de Tocqueville, anticipate where America is heading today.



"FOR UNCOMMON SKILLS AND SERVICE, FOR THE CHOICES EACH ONE OF THEM HAS MADE AND THE ONES STILL AHEAD, FOR THE CHALLENGE OF DEFENDING NOT ONLY OUR FREEDOMS BUT THOSE BARELY STIRRING HALF A WORLD AWAY, THE AMERICAN SOLDIER IS TIME'S PERSON OF THE YEAR." FROM THE COVER STORY OF TIME'S PERSON OF THE YEAR AWARD IN 2003, GIVEN TO 'THE AMERICAN SOLDIER.'





US COMBINED AIR OPERATIONS CENTER, ARABIAN PENINSULA.

The suicide bomber kills in person and is called a murderer and coward. The liberator kills from great distances and is called a hero and freedom fighter. Innocent lives can be lost as a form of virtue, but only by accident, even if the chance of "accident" is certain. "Terrorism" thus becomes a question not of killing innocent people but of choosing or not choosing exactly who is likely to die. *Accident is a luxury of the rich.*



On November 3, 2002, a weaponized CIA-operated RQ-1 Predator UAV “drone” took off from Djibouti and, when 160 kilometers east of the Yemeni capital, fired a AGM-114 Hellfire air-to-surface missile at a vehicle transporting a leader of al Qaeda and five low-ranking associates. The Predator operates at an altitude of 25,000 feet and has a range of 400 nautical miles. A “c-band line-of-sight data link” allows remote control of the vehicle from 150 nautical miles. In the Yemeni strike, the drone was piloted out of Djibouti, with surveillance imagery relayed in real time to an operator equipped with a remote video terminal.

All six men were killed instantly, and without any danger to the aggressor side. As the Iraq occupation has since made clear, however, not all battles in America’s “war on terror” can be fought from thousands of feet in the air, or from tactical command centers thousands of miles away. If not to win the war, at least to police the peace, soldiers continue to be put on the ground and placed in harms way. And so, while Predator-type drones have often been viewed as the soldier of the future, some in the military-industrial establishment have begun envisioning a very different kind of future soldier. Technological science still cannot even dream of having an expert machine on the ground that can do the work soldiers have done in recent years in Kosovo, Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. The real drone soldier will have to be human.

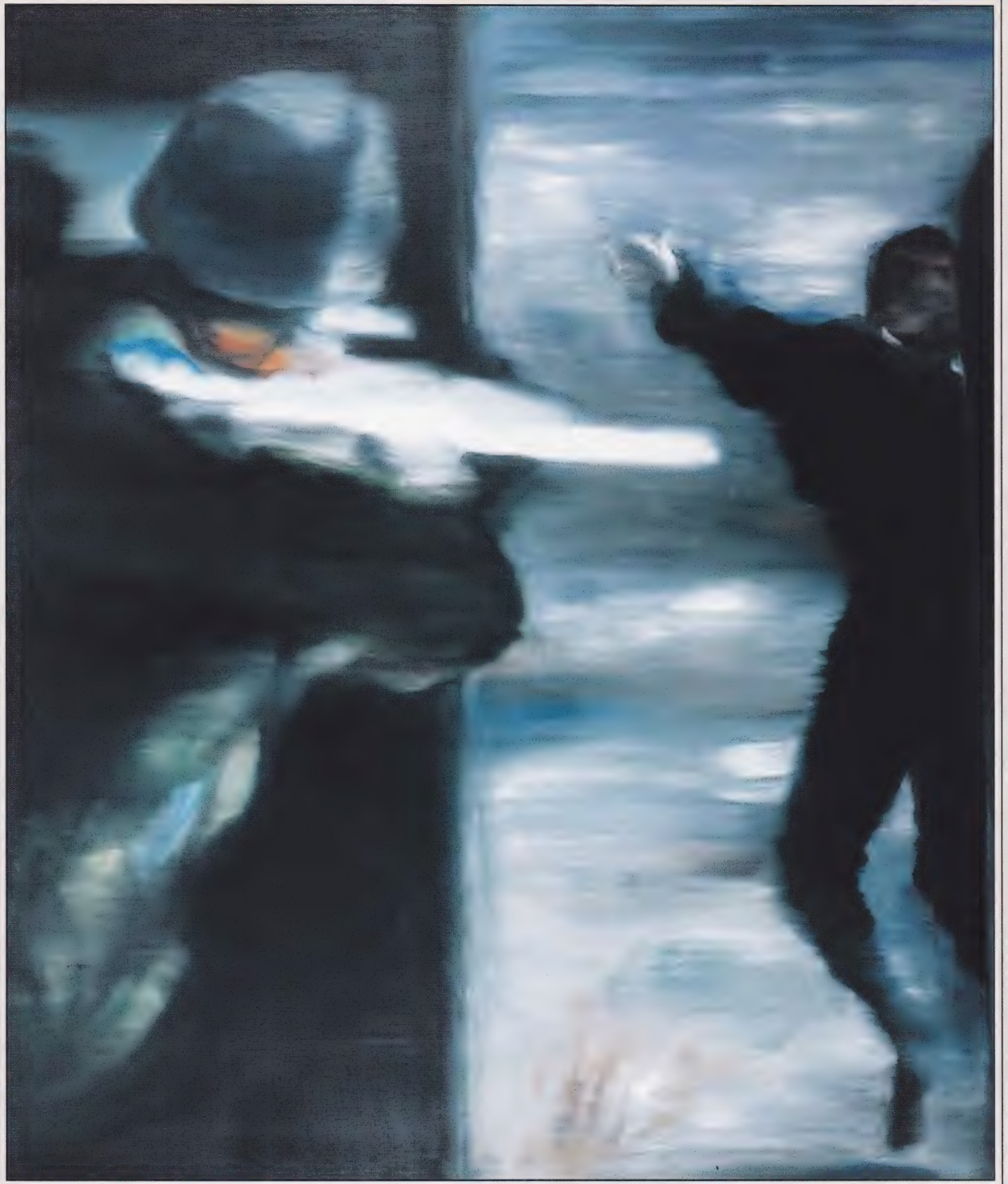
It all begins at the Pentagon, where research is now underway for a science fiction-based “War Fighter Enhancement” project, turning everyday soldiers into the “super soldiers.” Drugs, hormones, DNA alterations and microchip implants are all on the table, along with the hope that these combat enhancers might one day produce whole armies of drone soldiers – soldiers who need little or no sleep and fear death not at all. But the problem is not just creating the fearless soldier, something the military has been perfecting for centuries. A mightier problem is preventing the aftermath, that is, the trauma that comes with “having to do what you’ve got to do.” Thus, the “super soldier” will also have to be the “guilt free soldier.”

Research is now ongoing at the University of California at Irvine, at New York University, at Columbia University and at Harvard University investigating the interlocking physiological underpinnings of the fear, guilt, memory, and trauma behind such things as post-traumatic stress disorder. All of this has led analysts in the defense industry to ask for other drugs that could, for the sake of national defense, if not for the soldier, temporarily shut down his or her emotional response.

Such a soldier might be produced pharmacologically by administering drugs that hinder the neurological changes taking place during and after the overwhelming acute and chronic experiences associated with combat. In fact, in some instances, putting greater distance between a soldier’s emotions and the act of killing is a operations tactic that goes hand-in-hand with putting greater distances between the enemy and the liberating soldier. The first Iraq war provides an example.

In the high-tech combat of today, the enemy is often so out-equipped that killing becomes like a video game. In the first Iraq war, many soldiers experienced this not as killing in self defense but as murder. One soldier notes, we felt “guilty that we had slaughtered them so; guilty that we had performed so well and they so poorly; guilty that we were running up the score . . . We saw T-72 [tanks] in battle lines, firing away blindly in the air. They didn’t know what was killing them, but they were gamely shooting – knowing they would die.” Another soldier notes that when missile-firing Apache helicopters began to annihilate the tanks, “It pissed me off . . . They were not firing.” Another argues that what happened was “fucking murder. . . . A Hellfire missile hitting a T-72 tank – it is an absolute catastrophic destruction. The turret absolutely separates and blows off a hundred feet in the air, a hundred yards away.” Describing this scene in an interview with Seymour Hersh and thinking of the vast number of “burning vehicles and burning bodies,” the soldier stopped talking and began to weep.

This is something the guilt-free soldier of the future will never have to do.



Our responsibility to history is already clear: to answer these attacks and rid the world of evil. George W. Bush



Why should fear, killing, destruction, displacement, orphaning and widowing continue to be our lot, while security, stability and happiness be your lot? Osama Bin Laden

On September 11, 2001 terror came home to America. In response, Bush and his circle of friends led us into that age old trap of Us versus Them. We are right, blessed, powerful – they are wrong, evil, weak. The opportunity for America to lead the world toward equality, democracy and prosperity in the new millennium was thus squandered. Justified in the name of God and country, America is now dealing in its own brand of processed terror – a terror against terror, a terror without end. It has all happened hundreds of times before: We stand watchful and fearful at the gates, waiting for the barbarians, not realizing that the only evil that can destroy us is our own. We have learned nothing. Nothing at all.

Richard DeGrandpre

IT HAS COME DOWN TO THIS: A FIGHT to the finish against the evil forces of capital that would wage a terror upon terror upon terror without end.

We, the people, the multitudes, can win this war. Our power comes from our numbers. There are more than six billion of us. If we organize ourselves, weave myriad networks and learn how to use them, if we invent an Internet voting system that can hold billion-person plebiscites, if we begin a slow march towards global governance and a world parliament, nothing can stop us.

To get the ball rolling, we initiate persistent, low level civil disobedience on all fronts. A pissed-off global population can force capital to retreat by:

- * hacking websites
- * jamming broadcasts
- * placing organic stink bombs in bathrooms, offices and stores
- * plugging up toilets
- * crashing spy surveillance systems with spoof emails
- * refusing to pay fees and taxes
- * obstructing and sabotaging



In time we will learn to modulate our resistance — to raise it to the point where airport-type security systems are needed just to let customers into stores, until the daily pain and cost of doing business as usual becomes simply too high to bear. Then, at our pleasure, we will lower our resistance to reward the concessions being made. We don't have to get the shit kicked out of us like we did in Miami. Instead, we grow the power and sophistication of our networks and ratchet up our disobedience. We attack in the dead of night and under the noonday sun. We hit them before, during and after world events. Bit by bit, hit by hit we bend them to our will.

Strategically, the tables have turned. Military might does not count for much anymore. The global capital machine is now so finely tuned, so delicately balanced, that just one virus, one blackout, one bushfire, one mad cow, one hand-held rocket launcher, one gram of plutonium, has the potential to crash the whole deal. From now on, all the king's horses and all the king's men will not be able to keep it together.

That's the dirty, anarchic, kick-ass side of World War IV.

The gentler, everyday flip side is the growing army of meme warriors: artists, writers, activists, environmentalists, green entrepreneurs, pranksters, poets, philosophers and punks, generating cognitive dissonance, spreading startling new ideas, streaming mindbombs, giving birth to new ideologies, paradigms and ways of looking at things.

Another world is possible. Yes! So let's articulate it, communicate it. Let's describe it in vivid, inspiring detail.

Kalle Lasn

Wild Momes

Wild, because they can go anywhere and do anything...

GIVS

We open source a Global Internet Voting System that gives the six billion people in the world a collective voice, an alternative nexus of power. Think about it. If a billion people say "yes," then who can say "no"? And conversely, if a billion people say "no," (to war for example) then who will have the arrogance to go against them?

Tobin Tax

Imagine this: The world votes "Yes" on the Tobin Tax – a one per cent tax on all financial transactions.

media Carta

Imagine: The world votes "Yes" on an amendment to Article 19 of the Declaration of Human Rights that gives every person on the planet, not only the abstract right to free speech, but the concrete Right to Communicate – to access the media.

no more secrets

We prohibit our government officials from doing anything in secret. No more back room deals, no classified files, nothing whatsoever hidden from the people. Total transparency as the first rule of governance.

Three strikes & you're out

We begin revoking the charters of all corporations who break the law three times.

True Cost

We create a global, true-cost regime in which the price tag of every product tells the ecological truth.


ANTI-LOGO

Instead of whining about corporate brands, we launch our own. <www.blackspotsneaker.org>



Everywhere power dissolves
down to the level of community. People
are taking back what is rightfully theirs.

A THORNY VELVET ROSE



IT WAS A TEXTBOOK VELVET REVOLUTION. When Georgia's longtime leader, Eduard Shevardnadze, was nonviolently ousted last November it was cause for widespread celebration in the former Soviet republic. Shevardnadze had played a pivotal role in dissolving the Soviet Union and ending the Cold War while serving as Soviet foreign minister under Mikhail Gorbachev (remember when there were two superpowers?). But during his decade-long tenure as president of Georgia, the former Soviet republic fared poorly. Corruption and clan politics festered. Half the population now survives on less than

\$4 a day. Hopes are high that the country's new leader, 36-year-old Mikhail Saakashvili, will make good on promises to clean up the political system and bring greater prosperity.

Saakashvili, a lawyer educated at George Washington and Columbia universities, was a central figure in the massive protests that built upon public outrage in the wake of rigged elections last fall. After three weeks of peaceful demonstrations, a mob led by Saakashvili stormed Georgia's parliament building, forcing Shevardnadze to flee in a publicly televised spectacle. Saakashvili held a rose in his hand to signify peaceful intentions, and the event, which cost not a drop of blood, was called the "Revolution of Roses."

Revolutions, of course, are almost never quite so spontaneous as they might appear. Shevardnadze accused billionaire investor George Soros of conspiring to remove him. Soros, a hard-to-fathom character who funds civil society projects through his foundation, the Open Society Institute, did indeed donate millions to fund Georgian opposition

student groups, activist training workshops and an independent television station that broadcast opposition sentiment and was a key force in mobilizing protestors. But Georgians clearly had aspirations for change and good reason to challenge the status quo. Soros may have done little more than fan the revolutionary flames.

Saakashvili, who had served in Shevardnadze's government before migrating to the opposition, officially took power in Georgia after winning more than 85 percent of the vote in a January election. Even Shevardnadze, demonstrating his fabled political acumen, voted for him. The mood in the country is thus far optimistic. Saakashvili presents himself as a people's leader with pro-Western leanings who offers Georgia a new start. Getting out from the grip of Russia's bear hug is part of that new start, but

rose revolutions are not without their thorns. Three of the country's regions have separatist tendencies that pose a challenge to Tbilisi's rule. Wages are months late and pensions amount to \$0.25 a day. With debt running at 60 percent of GDP, the nation of five million is on the verge of financial collapse.

"Austerity measures" instituted by the World Bank and IMF are expected to remain in place, offering little in the way of social spending to ease everyday suffering. The biggest thorn of all, however, may be a relic of the past.

Georgia's shift to a closer alliance with the United States may herald a revival of Cold War tensions. American and Russian troops are both on Georgian soil (the latter linked to the ongoing war in neighboring Chechnya). Even more potentially divisive, Georgia lies directly in the path of a massive oil pipeline of immense importance to both Russia and the US. Given that the Bush administration is composed of one part ex-cold warriors nostalgic for the good old days, and one part oil industry executives, Georgia represents a confluence of interests. The country is already the largest recipient of US foreign aid with the exception of Israel, and immediately after the revolution the Minister of War himself, Donald Rumsfeld, paid a visit to the capital city of Tbilisi (a stopover on his way

to -where else?- the oil fields of Iraq). Rumsfeld used the occasion to call upon Russia to close its military bases in Georgia, following that up with a tour of the military complex where US Special Forces have been training Georgian troops in "anti-terrorism" techniques since 2002.

Observers strongly suggest the Georgian soldiers are being trained to protect the pipeline from potential saboteurs. That may include Russia, which sees the pipeline as a threat to its regional oil hegemony. (According to *The Guardian*, Russia's military intelligence corps has allegedly allocated funds toward training or hiring mercenaries to sabotage the pipeline.) "We're making sure no one sees the United States as the guarantor of pipeline security," a 'top-level State Department official' told the *Village Voice*, speaking of the US military presence on Georgian soil, "but if there's a supportive role we can play, we'll do it." George W. Bush personally telephoned Saakashvili to congratulate him on his election victory and extend the unusual honor of inviting him to pay a state visit.

Georgia may be small, but its geopolitical significance is massive. The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline (BTC) is designed to bring oil from the Central Asia-Caspian Sea area, possibly the largest untapped reserves in the world (worth up to \$4 trillion), to Western markets via Turkey, while skirting Russia and Iran. In 2005, BTC is slated to start pumping a million barrels a day through regions rife with ethnic instability.

Energy giant British Petroleum heads the multinational consortium building the pipeline. According to a British-based anti-BTC Campaign, BP has orchestrated an international agreement with Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey, the three countries through which BTC passes, exempting BP and its partners from any law, present or future, that conflicts with the company's project plans and permitting the consortium

to demand compensation should any law make the pipeline less profitable. A leading pipeline construction partner is Bechtel, a private US engineering firm with close ties to the Bush administration. "The pipelines will of course benefit from the military presence," BP said of the deployment of US Special Forces.

US and UK government bodies have already jumped on board, promising financial support and loan guarantees, an indication of just how highly both governments value this project. Environmental and human rights groups have been campaigning vigorously against the \$3.6 billion pipeline, which is almost half complete. If, as reports suggest, the region is being viewed by the United States as an alternative to the problematic Middle East, the oil bonanza from the pipeline could bring with it increased instability, corruption, environmental degradation and war in a region already beset with difficulties.

"The name of the game," writes Pepe Escobar in the *Asia Times*, "is basically Pipelineistan: monster oil corporate profits to be made by controlling Central Asia-Caspian Sea oil and gas, bypassing both Russia and Iran, and exerting extra pressure on China. As countless watchdogs have stressed, this is a ruthless 'do or die' corporate war."

The new guard in Georgia may just have what it takes to navigate what is clearly a perilous course. If Saakashvili and his advisers can strike the right balance on the geopolitical tightrope, escaping the bear's grip while avoiding the eagle's talons, they may be able to achieve the dreams the velvet revolution has kindled. Instead of becoming pawns in this dangerous game, Georgia may even prove smart enough to play the two powers - both eager to court the favor of the strategically-situated state - against one another. But one thing is sure: it won't be any bed of roses.

Deborah Campbell is author of This Heated Place, a reportage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Her writing has recently appeared in the San Francisco Bay Guardian and Utne Reader, and her radio documentaries have aired on CBC and NPR.



GOODBYE, GRINGO!

LAST OCTOBER THE PRESIDENT OF BOLIVIA, A MAN KNOWN as “the Gringo” because of his American upbringing, boarded a plane and fled to Miami while the citizens of La Paz celebrated in the streets. A month of protests over President Gonzalez Sanchez de Lozada’s policies of privatization had shut down business, left at least 65 protestors dead, and finally forced his resignation.

Sanchez de Lozada’s administration lasted 10 years and was characterized by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as an epoch of great progress. The president acted on the IMF’s advice and privatized Bolivia’s oil industry, airlines, railroads, and the electricity and telecommunications systems while at the same time cutting spending on social services. But when Bolivian companies didn’t have the means to manage such sprawling businesses, multinational companies like Bechtel kindly stepped into the breach – scooping up bargains in the process.

The last straw was when plans were announced for Spanish and British companies to export Bolivia’s largest remaining natural resource, natural gas. Bolivia’s population (70 percent Aymará and Quechua Indian) saw the plan as the latest attempt to send profits from the country abroad. Their concerns harked back to colonial days when the Spanish pressed the indigenous people into service in the tin and silver mines.

The United States supported Sanchez de Lozada until the bitter end. A State Department spokesman declared that the United States “will not tolerate any interruption of constitutional order and will not support any regime that results from undemocratic means.” But in Bolivia, riots, marches and protests are seen as the ultimate democratic gesture: they show the will of the people who are all too often left out of decision making. When hundreds of thousands of people from Indian and labor groups mobilized, they formed a strong alliance that stopped the Bolivian outgrowth of globalization dead in its tracks.

The new president, Carlos Mesa, was vice president under Sanchez de Lozada but weathered the revolt by publicly denouncing Lozada’s policies during the final days of the riots. A former historian and journalist, Mesa has a heavy task before him in reordering the country. He’s promised a referendum on the natural gas question and an alliance with the labor and Indian political parties. Although the people see Mesa as a Europeanized elitist, they have agreed to judge him on his actions. If he breaks with the policies of the past and spreads the wealth among the people, they say they won’t overthrow him too.

Eliza Strickland



HELLO, YANKEE?

HUGO CHAVEZ SWEEPED INTO THE presidency of Venezuela in 1999 with a blend of fiery rhetoric and a promise of “revolutionary” social policies. He accused the establishment’s “predatory oligarchs” of subservience to international capital, and once described oil executives as preferring “luxury chalets where they perform orgies, drinking whisky.”

Bold words in a country known for bland, business as usual politics. Chavez was the first politician to stand up for Venezuela’s poor blacks and Native Americans, and it brought him initial approval ratings of 80 percent. His policies gave the poor guaranteed meals, introduced urban and rural land reform and a universal health care system. He even instituted an income tax for the first time in the country’s history, and doubled the oil export tax – Venezuela is the fifth biggest oil exporter in the world – piquing American concern.

But unemployment started to rise and the economy started to collapse. The media turned, and railed against Chavez, warning of his plans to introduce a

“Cuban-style revolution.” Marches and general strikes in early 2002 paralyzed the country. Then on April 11, 2002, news broke that he had resigned.

“Venezuelan democracy is no longer threatened by a would-be dictator,” said the *New York Times*, reporting the commonly-held Western viewpoint. The problem had been solved.

The resignation story was an outright lie. Plotters had kidnapped Chavez at gunpoint but sections of the army mutinied, and Chavez supporters poured onto the barrio streets demanding he be reinstated. The coup, led by business leaders, collapsed within two days. Where had the fictitious story of this resignation come from? Where else but the US State Department, where George Bush’s adviser on Latin America is Otto Reich – notorious for fabricating and planting stories during the ‘80s about Nicaragua’s Sandanistas.

The Americans fear Chavez because they can’t control him. He sees himself as the successor to national liberation hero Simon Bolivar who tried to unite South America. Along with Castro

and Brazil’s Lula, he is helping form a consistent bloc opposing US influence in the region. He wants the continent’s oil producers to combine their supplies to form a South American OPEC with virtually no US corporate influence.

The sad irony is that Chavez can’t unite his own country. Barrio support remains strong, but nationally only one in three still want him as president. The media disparage him openly (he in turn describes them as “traitors” and “counter-revolutionaries”). To oppose this ‘bias’, he forces commercial TV channels to broadcast his Castro-style uninterrupted live speeches, instead of the scheduled soap operas.

Anti-Chavez groups forced a recall vote on his presidency which seems likely to go ahead in May. He may struggle on but the elites and their media allies are dead set against him.

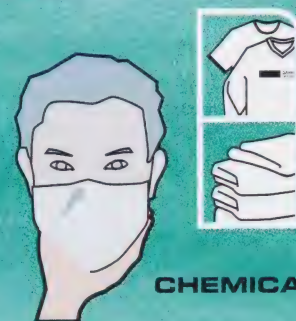
Chavez remains: national deadlock. Chavez falls: Latin America loses an independent voice – and the US State Department sleeps much easier.

Mark White

RUMOR



WHISPER



SUSPICION



SHORTNESS OF BREATH



FRENZY



NUCLEAR BLAST



GENTLE COWBOY

IN GLOBAL TRADE TANGO, RICH WESTERN COUNTRIES USUALLY push their poorer partners around. So when delegates from a group of developing countries (calling themselves the G21) walked out on the World Trade Organization talks in Cancún, Western leaders hit the tequila. Despite EU and US efforts to pry the coalition apart, G21 members maintained their resolve to torpedo the enlargement of unfair trade agreements. They said they were tired of hypocritical grandstanding about “free markets” while North American and European agribusiness collects \$300 billion of corporate welfare a year.

Storming out of WTO talks and thumbing a nose at America makes for attention-grabbing news. But the bigger story is the multilateral force emanating from the South: Brazil, India and China are all warming to global leadership games. As a result, Washington and Brussels are finding it increasingly tough to push their ‘weaker’ neighbors around.

The South’s global heavyweight is Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. He’s intent on radically altering the structure of international trade, spending the first year of his presidency building alliances with other southern hemisphere countries and creating a bulwark against American and European intimidation. Today, Brazilians love him and – of course! – Washington loathes him. While George Bush is likely wary of Lula’s Workers Party, Lula is no fan of Bush, either: after the two met in 2002, Lula let slip that Bush was “not the man I would like to see in the White House.” Fittingly, while the US coerces Latin American countries into the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) deal, it appears Brazil won’t sign. With the continent’s largest economy, Brazil’s absence

would create an unsightly hole in the agreement.

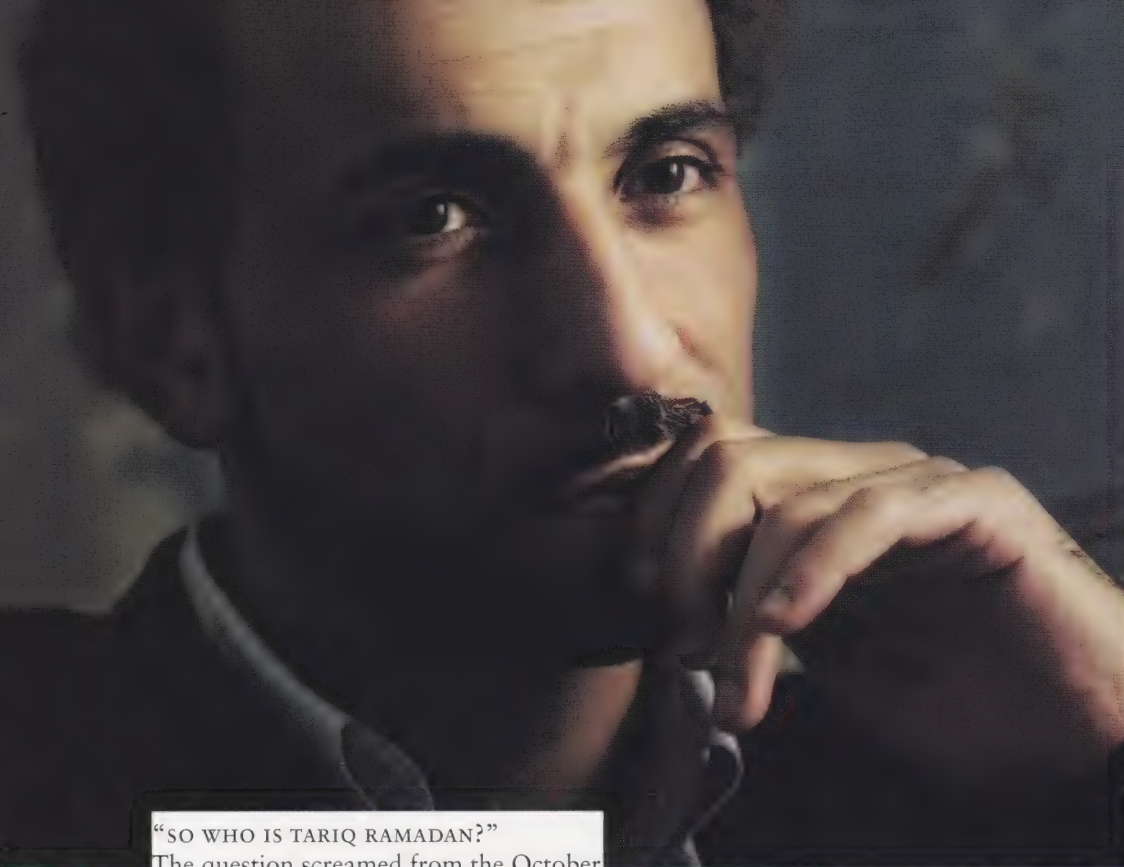
Lula’s quest to dissolve America’s assumption of leadership has led to his inviting China into the South’s new multilateralism. Beijing shouldn’t be hard to convince: they’ve been undermining US influence in Asia for years. Backed by a burgeoning economy and a friendlier diplomatic face, legions of Chinese dignitaries have signed business and trade agreements throughout the continent. Beyond economics, China is promoting security initiatives in forums where the US plays a major role and becoming more active in the United Nations (where it was a chronic abstainer up until the mid-1990s). These bold foreign policy moves contrast with China’s isolationist past. Today, with a man in space, the international Formula One auto racing championship stopping in Shanghai this year, the Olympic games coming to Beijing in 2008, and a determination to redress perceived humiliations of the past, Chinese nationalism is in high gear. The US is taking notice.

Remember, though, that George Bush isn’t one to shy away from a fight. After the G21’s impressive coming out party, American trade officers leaned on the weakest members of the coalition and convinced them to come back in line with the US agenda.

But Brazil and China are harder to bully. Not since the glory days of the non-aligned movement have there been such determined moves to create a counterweight to sole superpower bravado. The G21’s very existence was a punch in the gut to Western hegemony. It played well to the crowd at home. Round two can’t be far away.

Nicholas Klassen

Imagine
Bush
or
Blair
doing
this?



"SO WHO IS TARIQ RAMADAN?"

The question screamed from the October 10th headline of Bernard-Henri Lévy's column in the tabloid, *Le Point*. BHL (he's a 'brand' in France) wrote that Ramadan "has lowered his mask. He has dishonored himself." Three leading French Socialists accused him of committing a "crime" against the Republic, and Bernard Kouchner, a former cabinet minister and former head of the UN mission in Kosovo, warned that Ramadan should be considered "a dangerous man."

So, umm, who is Tariq Ramadan?

Most of France's 4.5 million Muslims – not to mention the 15 million Muslims throughout Europe – don't consider him dangerous. Far to the contrary: Ramadan is called a moderate beacon of hope, oft referred to as the Muslim "Martin Luther." The Swiss-born philosophy professor advocates a "silent revolution" by European-Muslims, a group that he says has been denied full acceptance as citizens. He exhorts them to transcend insular cultures based on their – or their parents' or grandparents' – country of origin, and find a way to be Muslims anchored in the contemporary cultural reality of Europe.

Ramadan believes that concern for the poor is integral to Islam; he preaches

against sweatshop labor and is involved in France's anti-globalization movement. He argues in favor of "Muslim feminists," and several fundamentalist Saudi clerics have issued fatwas against him. His sermons and speeches are available on audiocassette and consumed with fervor by young Muslims eager to forge a contemporary, European-Islamic identity.

So why did French rock star philosophers like BHL, usually occupied by cocktail parties, vacations in Marrakech and interviews with *Vanity Fair*, get their tail-feathers in a ruffle?

Because last October Ramadan said the unsayable: he asked if some of France's *nouveau philosophes* are biased "defenders of Israel." In an essay called "Criticism of the (new) Communitarian Intellectuals," he pointed out that the French intelligentsia who urged war with Iraq – Kouchner, Alain Finkielkraut, Alexandre Adler and André Glucksmann – shared a common heritage. "Jewish French intellectuals," he wrote, "who until then we had considered universal thinkers, started to develop analyses on the national and international front that were more and more biased toward the concerns of their community." He also attacked Bernard-Henri Lévy – who did not advocate war in Iraq – as having

"vilified Pakistan" in his latest book, *Who Killed Daniel Pearl?*

The response was immediate. In an essay for *Le Monde*, BHL wrote that Ramadan was trying to revive "the good old Jewish conspiracy," and that he has "a racist vision of the world." André Glucksmann lambasted him as an anti-Semite.

But Ramadan, often referred to as a "Muslim intellectual," questions why it is impossible to point out that someone is a "Jewish intellectual." To put a finer point on it, why are French philosophers treated as if they have no ethnic background whatsoever? "There is a double standard," he says.

The intellectual spat played against the escalation of tension between the Muslim community in France and the more secular majority. A presidential committee recommended that public school children and civil servants be banned from wearing "conspicuous" religious symbols. The ban includes large crosses and Jewish yarmulkes, but most see it as targeting hijab, the veil worn by Muslim women. French President Jacques Chirac has said that the head scarf "has something aggressive about it."

The majority in France supports the ban, but there is a looming backlash in the Muslim community that could play into the hands of extremists. Ramadan is worried about the ever-widening gulf between Muslims and the French mainstream, a gulf that contributed to his own difficulties. "There is so much suspicion," he says of France. "In the UK, in Denmark, I am considered as a progressist and a reformer. It is very far away from that dynamic here."

Maybe Ramadan needs a more diplomatic approach in a time of rising anti-Semitism. But it is unproductive for France's intelligentsia to vilify him. Otherwise they will find themselves asking, "Where have the moderates like Tariq Ramadan gone?"

Jonathan Bronson

WHY WON'T ANYONE SAY THEY ARE JEWISH?

FRIENDS HELP EACH OTHER OUT. THAT'S WHY THE US SENDS billions of dollars every year to Israel. In return, Israel advances US strategic interests in the Middle East. But despite this mutual back scratching, Israeli-American relations are enduring a rough patch. Last December, a senior State Department official blasted Israel for having "done too little for far too long" to resolve the conflict with its Palestinian neighbors. Indeed, President Bush himself had scolded Israel a month earlier with his demand that "Israel should freeze settlement construction, dismantle unauthorized outposts, end the daily humiliation of the Palestinian people and not prejudice final negotiations with the building of walls and fences."

Harsh words, but is it all just window-dressing? This was not the first time Bush criticized Israel and he has made numerous calls for a "viable" Palestinian state during his presidency. Nevertheless, he has never concretely punished Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon for ignoring US directives and shrugging off his commitment to the peace process. It's also worth noting that diplomatic admonitions are the responsibility of the State Department which has been on the losing end of the policy wars in Bush's White House. One wonders what Israeli-American relations, and indeed what American relations with the rest of the world would look like if the neocon hawks who control Rumsfeld's Defense Department were also in charge at State.

A lot of ink has been spilled chronicling the pro-Israel leanings of American neocons and fact that a the disproportionate percentage of them are Jewish. Some

commentators are worried that these individuals – labeled 'Likudniks' for their links to Israel's right wing Likud party – do not distinguish enough between American and Israeli interests. For example, whose interests were they protecting in pushing for war in Iraq?

Drawing attention to the Jewishness of the neocons is a tricky game. Anyone who does so can count on automatically being smeared as an anti-Semite. But the point is not that Jews (who make up less than 2 percent of the American population) have a monolithic perspective. Indeed, American Jews overwhelmingly vote Democrat and many of them disagree strongly with Ariel Sharon's policies and Bush's aggression in Iraq. The point is simply that the neocons seem to have a special affinity for Israel that influences their political thinking and consequently American foreign policy in the Middle East.

Here at *Adbusters*, we decided to tackle the issue head on and came up with a carefully researched list of who appear to be the 50 most influential neocons in the US (see below). Deciding exactly who is a neocon is difficult since some neocons reject the term while others embrace it. Some shape policy from within the White House, while others are more peripheral, exacting influence indirectly as journalists, academics and think tank policy wonks. What they all share is the view that the US is a benevolent hyper power that must protect itself by reshaping the rest of the world into its morally superior image. And half of the them are Jewish.

Kalle Lasn

• NORMAN PODHORETZ
• IRVING KRISTOL
• MIDGE DECTER
JEANE KIRKPATRICK
• PAUL WOLFOWITZ
• DOUGLAS FEITH
PETER RODMAN
STEPHEN CAMBONE
DONALD RUMSFELD
DICK CHENEY
• I. LEWIS LIBBY
• ELLIOT ABRAMS
ZALMAY KHALILZAD
JOHN BOLTON
• DOV ZAKHEIM
• ROBERT B. ZOELICK
• RICHARD PERLE

R. JAMES WOOLSEY
• ELIOT COHEN
ROBERT W. TUCKER
FRANCIS FUKUYAMA
• WILLIAM KRISTOL
• ROBERT KAGAN
GARY SCHMITT
ELLEN BORK
• DAVID WURMSER
• JOSHUA MURAVCHIK
REUEL MARC GERECHT
MICHAEL NOVAK
FR. RICHARD J. NEUHAUS
• MEYRAV WURMSER
• IRWIN STELZER
RUPERT MURDOCH
RICHARD MELLON SCAIFE

THOMAS DONNELLY
OWEN HARRIES
• MICHAEL LEDEEN
FRANK GAFFNEY
MAX BOOT
GARY BAUER
WILLIAM BENNETT
• DANIEL PIPES
• LAWRENCE KAPLAN
• MARTY PERETZ
• CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER
• DAVID BROOKS
FRED BARNES
• JOHN PODHORETZ
• NEAL KOZODOY
• JONAH GOLDBERG



THE SEVEN BILLION DOLLAR MAN

George Soros looked down from Wall Street and called aloud to the Democrats, for he was displeased.

Democrats, he cried, “rush on the foe, and do not let yourselves be thus beaten. Their skins are not stone nor iron that when hit them you do them no harm.”

Actually, that was Apollo’s speech to the Trojans in the *Illiad*. But billionaire philanthropist Soros is not unlike the gods of Greek myth. He can cast a nation into a fiscal whirlpool with a few words – provided they are aired on cable television – or swoop down and rescue a country’s research sector. Soros paid out \$100 million in Russian in 1992 to fund tens of thousands of researchers threatened by the country’s economic collapse. He can help topple old rulers (Slobodan Milosevic), and raise new ones up the ladder of glory (such as Mikhail Saakashvili, the incipient President of Georgia).

Last November, Soros told the *Washington Post* that the defeat of Bush in the 2004 presidential race is “the central focus of my life. It is a matter of life and death.” By the end of 2003, Soros had given \$15 million to two groups that are working against Bush:

Americans Coming Together, a political action committee fighting Republicans in swing states, and *MoveOn.org*. You can expect more cash to follow – Soros has warned his opponents: “I’m willing to put my money where my mouth is.”

Soros’ fame, power, and fortune – estimated at \$7 billion – all come from his life as a buccaneering financier. His fortunes thrive on chaos and flux rather than bloodless analysis. His gift lies in the ability to predict market shifts that are part political, part macroeconomic, and part irrational. When he smells blood he bets huge, without fear of consequences. An example: in October, 1992, he overheard a German finance minister’s offhanded comment about the Italian lira, and guessed that European currencies weren’t as secure as people assumed. Soros took \$10 billion and gambled that the British pound would drop. It did, in large part because people thought, “Holy shit, if George Soros is shorting the pound, it must be overvalued.” In one week he made more than \$1 billion and became ‘The Man Who Broke the Bank of England.’

Soros is also accused of breaking the Malaysian *ringgit* and the Thai *baht*. Citizens in both countries believe he was a shadowy force behind the Asian financial crisis of 1997. Governments in the region played up this belief to hide their own mismanagement, but Soros had no qualms about jeopardizing lives and nations through his financial dealings. As a businessman, he admits to being amoral. He told CBS’s *60 Minutes*, “I cannot and do not look at the social consequences of what I do.”

Then –whoosh!– he puts on a different hat and becomes the Moral

Philanthropist. His Open Society Institute is one of the largest charitable foundations in the world. He has given away nearly \$5 billion to fight everything from the Burmese military dictatorship to tuberculosis in Russian prisons. He has probably done more to promote democratic reform in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe than any other private citizen. Last November, the corrupt president of Georgia, Eduard Shevardnadze, listened to the crowds chant in the streets of Tbilisi. He had just enough time to publicly complain, "Soros is behind this!" before he was hurled from office.

The philanthropist and the financier operate during the day. At night, Soros' third persona comes to life: the philosopher who broods over the meaning of all things. Soros did not have an easy youth. When the Nazis occupied Hungary in 1944, the Jewish Soros family survived by hiding in attics and stone cellars until they could get fake, Gentile identification papers. Soros escaped the country in 1947 and, at 17, moved to London, where he worked as a waiter, a painter and an apple-picker. Perhaps as a remedy to the chaos of his early years, Soros has fashioned his own theories to explain and predict change, whether it occurs in politics, history or finances. He passionately believes in the "open society," a concept put forward by philosopher Karl Popper. The open society is based on a free exchange of ideas rather than orthodoxy, on the assumption that everyone is fallible but also capable of generating solutions.

All three of Soros' personas are

evident in *The Bubble of American Supremacy*, his recent book-length dissection of the Bush administration. The philanthropist seeks a global society based on law and cooperation, and rejects the Bush foreign policy of cluster bombs and unilateralism. The philosopher is repulsed by the unthinking absolutism of Bush and his coven of neocons. And the financier compares America's status as global

"THE DREAM OF AMERICAN SUPREMACY IS MISCONCEIVED"

ruler to a market bubble – when the myth is finally punctured, the world will overreact in the opposite direction, to catastrophic effect. For Soros, this all adds up to one conviction: "America under Bush is a danger to the world."

The conservative counter-attack to Soros' ideas – and cash – was immediate. Craig McMillan, on *Worldnetdaily.com*, said, "a vote for Soros' Democratic Party is a vote for institutionalized treason." Fox News contributor Tammy Bruce wrote that "George Soros and his newly bought minions hate and fear George W. Bush because he has something they never will and which cannot be bought – integrity, compassion and courage."

And James Hall compared Soros to the false, usurious, and very Jewish Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* in an article entitled, "Satan lives in George Soros," before it was unceremoniously yanked from the *GOPUSA.com* website.

So he's pissing off Right wing zealots. He's writing thoughtful books and essays. He's giving money to grassroots organizations that try to generate solutions and mobilize masses. Hurrah, hurrah! Let's dance around a Soros icon and send our prayers – in the form of funding requests – to his New York palace.

And yet.

And yet, why the hell should one man, rich and unelected, have this much political sway? Isn't this politics by oligarchy, the very essence of, well, the Bush government?

The truth is that it would be foolish to reject Soros and his money. That's the kind of principled stand that will put Bush in office for another four years. Karl Rove's Pioneers and Rangers will likely raise \$200 million for the Republicans, a war chest the Democrats can't dream of. What's more, Bush has the advantages of incumbency – the trip to dish out Thanksgiving turkey in Baghdad, for instance was basically a taxpayer-funded campaign ad. With opponents like this, the Democrats need all the oligarchs they can find. Come on, Streisand! You, Michael Moore, get your big butt over here! Peter Lewis, show me the money!

But promise yourself, Democrats, that if you win this one you have to legislate these demi-gods into political impotence, rather than reward them. Never forget that they are fickle, and that greed, vanity and miscalculation are all too human flaws.

Chris Tenove comes from a Canadian province where the statement "I'm a Lefty" had better be followed by "Can you pass me that other pair of scissors?" His most recent article was about Burmese pro-democracy activists.

WHEN TOM PAINE PUBLISHED THE PAMPHLET "COMMON SENSE" IN JANUARY 1776, SIX MONTHS BEFORE THE Declaration of Independence was signed, he sought to transform citizen protest into full-bore rebellion. Armed fighting between colonists and the British had broken out months before, but the colonists still identified themselves largely as English subjects fighting a tyrannical government. Their anger was aimed at the king and parliament for ignoring their rights guaranteed by England's unwritten constitution.

Paine sought to persuade his readers that their problems went beyond corrupt or abusive government. He rejected not only King George III but also the legitimacy of aristocracy and the entire British system. Rather than treating the monarchy with customary deference, he boldly declared the 11th-century monarch William the Conqueror, to be "a French bastard landing with an armed banditti and establishing himself King of England against the consent of the natives."

"Common Sense" was wildly successful. By the spring of 1776, newspapers reported "innumerable" converts to independence, including "tens of thousands of common farmers and tradesmen." With burning urgency Paine had gone on to call for the colonies to break from Britain and, within the year, they did.

Our struggle with oppression today is not directly against a government. It is against the most dominant institution of our time: the corporation. And, as it did in 1776, Paine's radicalism – in its true meaning of "going to the roots" – can inform our battleplan.

Many people now accept corporate domination of our political life, yet they seldom discuss the extent to which corporations control our physical existence. Agribusiness dominates our food supply; auto, oil and energy corporations determine what's in our air, and to a frightening extent, whether we live in peace or in war.

But corporations are no more part of the natural order than the English monarchy. As little as 150 years ago, they didn't exist in the form we know today. American citizens strictly controlled them through state legislatures, which accepted incorporation as a way to fund public projects like highways or canals. State legislatures explicitly defined corporations as entities subordinate to democracy and with a narrow set of

Corporate

privileges. Some states forbade business lobbying, influencing elections, or even attempting to sway public opinion. Violating these limits could lead to dissolution – a corporate death penalty.

During the Industrial Revolution relentless pressure from wealthy business owners expanded corporate privileges dramatically. By 1890, most long-standing corporate restrictions had been eliminated, and the US Supreme Court had granted the corporation the legal standing of natural persons, or "corporate personhood." Soon after, the court bestowed Bill of Rights protections upon them with virtually none of the responsibilities of citizens. Effectively, the rights of citizens had been subordinated to institutions that now had the power to undermine personal liberties and democracy.

A powerful resistance movement arose. The poor farmers who launched the Farmers' Alliance in the 1880s built cooperatives to bypass the iron grip bankers and large merchants held over their land and livelihoods. They soon realized dismantling the political influence of corporations was vital to their cause, and in 1892, they launched the last serious challenge to two-party domination in the US: the Populist Party. Populists focused on changing structures, not just symptoms. They sought to replace existing banks with a democratically controlled financial system and to nationalize railroads and telegraph networks. The Populists were not socialists (quite the contrary, actually) but they realized that free markets were impossible with oligarchies controlling the arteries of commerce.

The regulatory system created in the early 1900s was promoted by corporate leaders, trying to redirect this insurrection against corporate power. Big business succeeded by effectively channeling that rebellion into protest against separate abuses. These individual grievances were then adjudicated by agencies dominated by the very businesses responsible for those abuses. Today, this regulatory system remains what the US Attorney General reassured corporate leaders it would be back then – "a barrier between corporations and the people."

We must tear down that barrier. Pursuing bureaucratic remedies like environmental impact reports or labor commission hearings are necessary tactics, but such defensive maneuvers cannot move us forward. We delude ourselves by thinking today's industrial aristocracy will be more responsive to the people's rights than the old one – or that appealing to our representatives in Washington can solve structural problems. As long as we permit corporate and private wealth to dominate politics, "democracy" will be a platitude from the mouths of demagogues rather than a reality.

The extension of corporate "rights" is accelerating. In 1978, the US Supreme Court struck down a Massachusetts law that barred corporations from spending money to influence ballot initiatives, dubbing it a violation of corporate "free speech." Courts have ruled since that municipalities attempting to control the placement of cell phone towers violate corporate "civil rights." Corporations selling computerized voting machines invoke constitutional privilege against "unreasonable searches" to prevent people from ensuring that proprietary software isn't used to manipulate elections. And Nike recently battled to a draw in a legal contest to establish a constitutional right for corporations to lie.

What can we do to change this trend when the traditional means of protest aren't working? In simple terms,

we need to build a movement to reclaim democracy where it begins – at the local level. Citizens can press local and state governments to pass laws challenging corporate personhood. Such ordinances and resolutions could parallel those passed by more than 220 communities in symbolic opposition to the oppressive "USA Patriot Act," that led to Congressional bills to scale it back. The motivation is similar: Our rights as citizens are in grave danger.

A "progressive" undertaking? Not necessarily. Nebraska, South Dakota, and several other conservative Midwestern states have passed laws forbidding corporate ownership of farms. At least 11 townships in rural Pennsylvania have done the same. Real conservatives are the first to recognize that corporations were established strictly as business entities and should remain so.

Small business owners in the US have helped lead successful efforts from Port Jefferson, New York to Solvang, California that subordinate presumed corporate "rights" by banning or capping the number of chain restaurants allowed to operate there. Many more communities are proactively excluding big box stores through size caps or bans, rather than fighting individual battles against Wal-Mart and other chains.

Citizens can further such efforts by documenting ways that corporate personhood robs citizens of

Crackdown

power to their communities from corporate harms. Example: if a factory repeatedly breaks health, safety or environmental laws, public officials may be barred from inspecting corporate property without first obtaining a search warrant, as if corporate property were personal property. Of course, this enables companies to conceal dangers and imperil communities.

Eventually, local officials may follow the lead of tiny Porter Township, Pennsylvania. When agribusiness giant Synagro complained that a law controlling use of toxic sludge as fertilizer violated its constitutional rights, the community passed the first US ordinance to declare that corporations have no constitutional rights within its jurisdiction. Months later, a neighboring community followed Porter's example. These efforts demonstrate that with the right language and framing of issues, exposing the insolence of corporations can inspire radical, proactive challenges to the legitimacy of corporate power. If such defiance were to spread, corporate executives would face tough decisions: concede significant privileges, or risk confrontation on a scale not seen since the 1773 Boston Tea Party and the ransacking of East India Company property (then the world's second largest corporation).

The rights of US residents aren't the only ones threatened. Perhaps the most significant US export isn't grain

or pharmaceuticals but the legal and institutional structure of corporate control. US authorities declared last year that Iraq must accept foreign investment and corporatization of its nationalized oil industry before a permanent government takes charge. So "democracy" is welcomed only after the most important economic decisions for the future of Iraqis have been decided for them, after transnational corporations control their economic lifeblood.

But instituting corporate rule is done typically without armies. Trade treaties such as NAFTA and GATT are basically globalized versions of the "Interstate Commerce Clause" of the US Constitution – used by the Supreme Court to invalidate state laws that banned corporations from importing and dumping hazardous waste from other states. Power is being transferred to secret transnational tribunals where the corporation is always king.

Activists can help reverse the trend by framing the ongoing assaults by CEO George Bush and company – on workers, forests, human rights – within the context of corporate domination, and by promoting structural solutions alongside necessary damage control measures. But it's the new push from corporations to widen their

Why are we allowing a killer
corporation to hide behind
this blur?



Philip Morris knowingly killed
millions of people... now we
must revoke its corporate charter.

<CORPORATECRACKDOWN.ORG>

HELP US RAISE \$47,000 TO PUT THIS AD IN THE N.Y. TIMES caral@adbuster.org

personhood rights still further that could offer an immediate opening.

In January, Monsanto Inc. lawyers argued their case against Saskatchewan farmer Percy Schmeiser before Canada's Supreme Court. Basically, Schmeiser is accused of allowing the wind to infest his farm with Monsanto's patented GE crops. Should the court side with Monsanto, Canadians will have fertile ground to organize rural communities and enact initiatives like those passed in Pennsylvania to deny illegitimate corporate rights.

Fifty-five million Americans joined a federal government list allowing them to opt out of being called by telemarketers. But last September a district court judge overturned the law that set up the list designed to keep for-profit companies (though not non-profits or politically-motivated callers) from pestering people at home. Judge Nottingham outrageously concluded that telemarketing companies possessed equal protection "rights" that would be violated by de facto discrimination against corporations, and that those presumed rights trump our right to personal privacy. The number of citizens with direct self-interest in this case makes it a stellar organizing opportunity – especially if the appeals court, that began its review in November, affirms the corporate claim.

Such conflicts can be used to enlist people of any ideology into battling "corporate personhood" via an obvious and direct impact on their lives. This work could trigger growth in awareness and engagement against corporate personhood, much like Seattle did for opposing secondary structures of corporate rule like the WTO. The key will be convincing average citizens that they and their families are oppressed by illegitimate corporate power, not by buffers like government agencies or politicians currently in office.

The opportunities will differ from one location to another, but let's heed Tom Paine's approach and transform our myriad single-issue protests into an outright rebellion to tear down the anti-democratic structures of corporate rule and institute some genuine democracy. Yes, it's a huge challenge to change the rules, but sensible people don't keep playing a rigged game.

Jeff Milchen directs ReclaimDemocracy.org, a non-profit devoted to building a democracy movement to restore citizen authority over corporations. Jeffrey Kaplan is an independent writer and researcher active in the group's Bay Area chapter. For details on court cases referenced see <www.ReclaimDemocracy.org/personhood>.

CIVIL SOCIETY VERSUS CORPORATE RULE

Three Strikes

Thanks to California's three-strikes-and-you're-out law, a thief caught lifting a bag of chips from the corner store can go to jail for life. It seems cruel and unusual, but as long as the edict is on the books, a growing number of Californians want it to apply to businesses as well. Surely the ramifications of corporate crime dwarf those of petty theft. And since corporations often claim 'personhood' and use human rights law to protect their interests, they can't object to being treated like commoners.

With help from a few rebel legislators, anti-corporate activists are promoting a bill that would ban a company from operating in California if it is convicted of three 'major violations' in a 10-year period. Carmen Balber of the Foundation for Taxpayer and Consumer Rights figures "If this is good enough for individual felons in California, it's certainly appropriate for the Enrons of the world." To check out the Corporate Three Strikes Act visit <www.corporate3strikes.org>.

No to the Corporate 'I'

Still, the battle to prevent corporations from impersonating human beings forges on. At the national level, <www.ReclaimDemocracy.org> has drafted a constitutional amendment that would revoke corporate personhood. Inaction by the federal and state politicians, however, has driven municipal politicians in Porter Township, Pennsylvania and Point Arena, California to pass their own ordinances. To look at Point Arena's resolution, visit <www.iiiipublishing.com>. These city councils are ahead of the curve, but communities across North America are working towards similar resolutions. The push to abolish corporate personhood is slowly but surely becoming a stampede.

Communities Rule

These grassroots initiatives to extinguish the corporate 'I' are proving that local rule is the only solution to corporate bullying. In Nebraska, a coalition of farm, church, and environmental groups called Friends of the Constitution <www.i300.org> defend and enforce Initiative 300, the state's constitutional amendment banning non-family farm corporations.

Elsewhere, communities across North America are calling their own shots and shunning businesses with far-away head offices. The New Rules Project <www.newrules.org> and the American Independent Business Alliance <www.amiba.net> articulate this "new localism" and provide how-to guides for building communities based on humanly scaled politics and economics. Other organizations assisting grassroots efforts to establish local autonomy are Democracy Unlimited of Humboldt County <www.duhc.org> and Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund <www.celdf.org>.



SYSTEM ERROR

A climate of denial? While the West consumes itself with nation building and Michael Jackson's bedroom preferences, drivers in Melbourne, Australia sampled some of the rather common "extreme" weather happening lately. And 40 low-lying South Pacific island states (like Tuvalu) had a promised \$50 million of aid to help them "adapt" to the warming world yanked. Briefly. The money was promised in 2003, and was to be released at the next climate change summit due later this year.

Then came a change of plan: the EU and the US cynically tried to "postpone" the meet until 2005, thereby delaying the money's release. But public outcry at the news forced them back to the original schedule. A victory for those in the deep end, yes, but also a clear indication of how politics is drowning under global warming's physical effects.

In October, the feel-good story went supersonic. For the better part of a week journalists across the globe lovingly romanticized the final flight of the Concorde: "No longer will residents along the approach to Heathrow be able to set their clocks to its deep-throated roar as it returns every evening from New York," crooned David Usborne in London's *The Independent*. "No longer will they gaze up as it passes overhead, its unique deltoid silhouette never failing to inspire wonder."

That people in London, Paris, New York, Washington and Bahrain likely celebrated the loss of Concorde's engines screaming at more than 120 decibels while consuming, on average, 95 gallons of fuel per minute (a 747 consumes 60 gallons per minute and carries four times the number of passengers) would have been more accurate. The irony that this decadent machine preyed most viscerally on poor residents living near airports also escaped these poetic scribes.

Co-created by Britain and France during the space-race mood of the early '60s, the Concorde was a techno experiment, an expensive solution to a far-fetched "problem" of how to fly from London to New York in under three hours. The answer was afterburner-equipped jet engines and 1,400 mph speeds.

But over time, the gee-wiz novelty of Concorde's velocity eroded to reveal a beast that was economically untenable as

a commercial aircraft. An average return ticket from London to New York cost a staggering \$14,800, forcing governments to subsidize the jet. While taxpayer money kept Concorde flying, rock stars, oil tycoons and royalty reaped the benefits.

Concorde's speed meant gluttony. Every 300 yards flown saw

the jet's four engines drink one gallon of fuel. On a flight from London to New York, with all 100 seats filled (which was extremely rare), 188 gallons per passenger would be burned, compared to 47 gallons for a loaded 747. And in 27 years of commercial service, the elite clientele flying Concorde (who else could buy a ticket?) drank 583,000 bottles of champagne.

This white elephant of the sky became more than an economic disaster: it became a telling metaphor for the wrongheaded pursuit of "progress" at the cost of our environment. Just don't expect reporters to catch that. Instead, the media consensus was that losing the Concorde was the sad passing of an era. "[W]atching the BBC and ITN reporters drying their eyes, it was as if the environment movement and the crisis that spawned it, didn't exist," wrote David Edwards in *The New Statesman*.

A snobbish jet for snobbish passengers flying at Mach 2 – at the planet's expense – is not progress. Concorde is out of the air. That is.

Timothy Queregensser



GRIDLESS LIVING

Andy Thomson wanted to live off the grid. Nothing too astonishing about that. Build a cabin in the woods, set up solar panels and an outhouse, chop some wood for the winter. Simple, really. But Andy wanted to do it in the city. And as a student of architecture who had been working on eco-housing for more than a decade, he had the wherewithal to make it happen. Problem was, his design contravened 30 municipal bylaws and the bureaucrats at city hall weren't prepared to amend the prohibitive requirement that a house be tapped into sewage, water and power lines before it can go green.

But Andy was not easily dissuaded. So, he borrowed from the German *bauwagen* model and modified a box van to create a house for himself, his wife, and their young daughter. Not only was he off the grid, but he was mobile. Sure, it was a little cramped and Andy had to be discrete about where he parked, but at least he lived in a self-contained dwelling where he was master of his own energy usage. Still, he hasn't given up on the idea of a more enduring model of sustainable living. His current vision involves rehabilitating the unfairly stigmatized trailer park and giving it a green tinge. Picture it: compact, economical, self-sufficient houses surrounded by trees functioning entirely separate from the city's infrastructure. In a world where eco-housing tends to be the domain of the rich, Andy's units would be less expensive than a standard house. And the cost factor is particularly important since, as Andy says "the banks won't give you a mortgage for anything that's too weird."

Andy and his van live somewhere in Toronto, Canada.

CITY REPAIR

In 1996, a resident of Portland, Oregon thumbed his nose at the law and built a teahouse in his front yard out of scrap material. So many neighbors joined him for tea that they soon spilled onto the street. Soon, they took over the intersection. But this wasn't just a one time block party – it was a weekly ritual that culminated with the community painting over the intersection and framing it with a mini-library, benches and the teahouse. When the unimaginative bureaucrats at the Department of Transportation discovered the enterprise, they fined the perpetrators and proceeded to roll back their street reclamation scheme. City hall wasn't as closed minded however, and after some bylaw amendments, the residential street intersection was permanently converted into a neighborhood public square.

So began City Repair, a group of urban activists striving to transform dull city blocks throughout Portland into bustling villages. And the buzz is spreading. Academics, government planners and citizen activists across North America have invited City Repair reps to share their philosophy. As a result, townspeople in Ithaca, Asheville, Olympia, Ottawa and elsewhere are applying City Repair's template to their own urban renewal. Bylaw enforcement officers across the continent are cowering.

Nicholas Klassen

SEED BOMBS

International emissaries invited by the US Department of Agriculture gather in Sacramento, California to discuss biotechnology and

industrial agriculture. Security is tight for this WTO-related event, and the police are ready to crack down on any suspicious behavior. Near an activist mobilization center, vigilant officers spot a box full of 'weapons' that are clearly dangerous. They disregard assurances that the contents of the box are harmless and proceed to seize them under the authority of a statute that bars "Possession of prohibited weapons during a parade or demonstration."

The 'weapons' inside the box? Mounds of dirt and clay infused with seeds: seedballs. Clumps of soil created by permaculture enthusiasts for the purpose of making the world a greener place. Seedballs are mini-ecosystems designed to be left on the ground to sprout in urban areas lacking vegetation. They are flowers, herbs and vegetables. Hardly a threat to national security. But perhaps state repression of seedballs will encourage a flowering backlash of urban guerilla activity. So mix together your favorite seeds with soil, compost, and clay, throw them on a dead landscape. And then, let the re-vegetation begin.



COGNITIVE DISSONANCE

PROFESSOR EUAN NISBET OF THE University of London wants to drape huge tarpaulins over Mount Kilimanjaro's glaciers to retard their melting and susceptibility to the hot, dry winds that are eroding them. Since 1912, the glaciers have shrunk by 80 percent, believed to be the result of deforestation around Kilimanjaro's base and global warming. Antarctic wind vortexes caused by global warming and the expanding hole in the ozone layer above Antarctica (now at 10.8 million square miles) are sucking rain away from Australia. The continent could soon enter an almost permanent state of drought. Recent studies have found that Venus once had a climate similar to Earth's – but after two billion years, a greenhouse effect led to the inhospitable climate the planet now has. In 2002, fuel economy for American vehicles hit a 22-year low.

On an average day, 5,000 new houses are built in America. The term "suburb" has been outmoded in the US: "exurbia" now describes living more than 20 miles from work and other commercial activities, making cars necessary for even basic errands. In 2002, the US



Department of the Interior announced that it was "removing" 200 million acres of land (an area three times that of Britain) from wilderness study, allowing it to be logged, mined, paved and developed. While flying from Boston to Washington DC, there are now few undeveloped spaces below you. An almost unbroken 'U' of residential-sprawl now sits atop the US, covering the East, West and South coasts. *The Guardian* reports that rules for building houses in the computer game Sim City are "stricter than those that apply in most areas of the [US] Sun Belt."


Sister Engelberta Kokunura and three friends from Tanzania visited a Spokane Washington Gap store during her six-month sabbatical in the US. Inside they discovered shredded jeans, and when they saw the price (\$59) they laughed uncontrollably. Wearing shredded jeans in Africa is "a sign of craziness," she said. Film director Patricio Paniagua, imprisoned by Chile's secret police after General Augusto Pinochet's US-backed dictatorship took power in 1973, later recalled not the pain of his imprisonment, but the "craziness of

how we survived, how we dreamed." Paniagua was given electric shocks to his mouth and genitals but says, outside the prison, "you were always afraid they were after you . . . So in a way we [prisoners] were the only ones free in Chile." The US incarcerates more people per capita than any other developed country. The Washington Supreme Court is re-examining a law that allows its Department of Corrections to preferentially award labor contracts to private companies. More than 250 private companies use prisoner labor in the US, including Victoria's Secret.

Wild cats have killed more people in the US in the last 12 years than they did in the preceding half-century. As suburbs stretch further, the wilderness shrinks, and wild animals learn that pets and garbage bins make for easy hunting. New Jersey recently held its first authorized bear hunt since 1970. Vice President Dick Cheney killed 70 pheasants in a "canned" hunt in December. As the farm-raised pheasants were released from cages, Cheney and his party shot at them from nearby blinds. Said the senior vice president of The Humane Society: "This wasn't a hunting ground. It was an open-air abattoir."

The amount of sunlight hitting the earth appears to be decreasing by 3 percent a decade. Few scientists have heard of this phenomenon, which is called "global dimming."

Staff



FARMED SALMON
are fed antibiotics,
colorants, and
pesticides.

Last October a salmon watchdog group called Coast Alliance for Aquaculture put this ad in the *New York Times*. Red flags went up. Aquaculture industry group Salmon of the Americas threatened legal action and the ad was pulled until a settlement could be reached. Then in January, the journal *Science* published a definitive study that farmed Atlantic salmon contained dangerously high levels of possible carcinogens. The study's damaging warning: either eat wild salmon, or limit consumption of farmed Atlantic salmon to one meal a month to avoid risk.

Bon appétit.

MEATRIX

WHEN AN EMAIL ENTITLED "FWD: ENTER THE Meatrix" arrived, I almost didn't open it: I loathe spam. Finally I did take the plunge. The screen went blank for a moment . . . loading . . . loading . . . loading – then a slick Flash animation film began rolling.

The Meatrix opens with a scene of an idyllic family farm: green hills, a red barn, and happy pigs eating from a trough. Within seconds, the music turns somber and a black trench coat-clad cow named Moopheus enters. Holding out his hand, Moopheus offers Leo, the smiling pig at the trough, a red pill and the chance to discover the hidden truth behind the myth of the family farm. Leo pops the pill and is swept off to a factory farm where he's surrounded by caged swine living cheek to jowl. As the web film plays, the evils of the factory farm – the manure, the antibiotics, the slaughter – are revealed to a disgusted Leo. Eventually, he joins forces with a team of crack farm animals intent on breaking the spell of industrial farming.

The scenes are disturbing but they're also funny,

and that kept me watching. Humor is something sorely lacking from most activist agitprop.

I watched the whole three minute film and, when it ended, I did something I rarely do: I forwarded it. And not just to my 'Lefty' friends; I forwarded it to middle-of-the-roads, folks who have no interest in activism. I thought they would enjoy it. That it also carried a message I could agree with was a bonus.

Doing so, I had participated in what appears to be a quiet revolution. More than one million people viewed and forwarded *The Meatrix* in the first few weeks of its release. The little film that did was produced by Free Range Graphics, the design house that creates marketing campaigns for non-profit and activist groups. They used Flash animation web software to make it, software that to date has mostly been used for well-financed corporate websites. But the tables have turned. Perhaps, as Gil Scott Heron rapped almost thirty years ago, "the revolution will not be televised." It will be emailed.

Kevin Arnold



HOT DEATH

PIGS MAY STILL NOT BE ABLE TO FLY, BUT THEY CAN TALK. Their message is pretty simple, too: factory farming is way too stressful. Of course, the pork industry doesn't hear them – instead, they notice the \$90 million in profits slipping through their fingers each year. The culprit? Porcine stress syndrome (pss).

Ever notice that some cuts of meat at the grocery store look worse than others, or get home to realize that the ham or pork chops you bought are gray, pasty and sweaty? It could be a bad cut or one that was left out too long, but more likely the cause is pss.

Food scientists have recently discovered that decades of selective breeding for leaner, more consistent pork ("the other white meat") have left the swine population with a recessive gene. The result? One in ten hogs die before slaughter from a condition known as malignant hyperthermia or "hot death."

It doesn't take a scientist to reason that a pig's life at a factory farm is nasty. Electric prodding, extreme temperature changes, overcrowding, transportation over long distances and messy slaughtering is your bacon's daily routine. Humans can also suffer from malignant hyperthermia, though in our case it rarely results in death. We're not being raised for food, after all.

Researchers have pinpointed the gene behind this "problem" (though any pig can develop it, if stressed enough). When stressed, the 'Hal' gene reacts by causing calcium to leak into muscle cells, which causes uncontrollable contractions and eventually breakdown of the muscles. Potassium also leaks into the bloodstream which overloads the heart. Naturally all of this happens right before slaughter (a terrifying event for living beings) which results in meat that one newspaper described as "sweating pale cuts of meat that ooze liquid in the package and become leathery when cooked."

You didn't think scientists would go to all this trouble with a pig's benefit in mind did you? Hot death costs the industry big money. Creating more humane, less stressful farming practices would be one option, but that would be too difficult. Why not, as a god might do, isolate the gene and breed it out of the hog population? That's the plan.

Without this nasty little gene, the resulting swine herd will be able to withstand the stresses of factory farm life with a serene, Buddha-like calm.

Kevin Arnold is from Vancouver. He tries to live by the words of Bertrand Russell: "Do not fear to be eccentric in opinion, for every opinion now accepted was once eccentric."



RAN'S BIG PUSH

WOULD BOISE CASCADE ABANDON its old growth wood trade? In 2000, the answer was “an emphatic no,” recalls Michael Brune, executive director of the Rainforest Action Network (RAN). “Not only did they not take the request seriously, they took pleasure in declining any opportunity to break out of the pack.”

But in September 2003 Boise about-faced, becoming the largest US forest company to stop using wood from endangered forests. What happened? An intense campaign led by RAN, a San Francisco-based environmental nonprofit organization. It's one of a string of recent victories from the likes of RAN, ForestEthics, Greenpeace, and the Natural Resources Defense Council. The strategy: publicly stigmatize products from endangered forests, from office paper to 2x4s, for coming from outdated and unethical logging practices. And it's working.

They begin by looking into the “chain of custody” – whom logging companies sold to, what those companies made, and whom they in turn sold to. Then,

RAN's campaigners pick a strategic target in the chain and employ creative tactics to link that company publicly to forest destruction: instant pressure for change.

Taking the matter to the marketplace works, says Brune, because the old growth forest issue has already been decided in the public sphere. “Polls show again and again that the majority of Americans want an end to old growth logging,” he explains. “We encourage corporations to align their policies with public values.”

The campaign against Boise Cascade gathered momentum soon after that initial refusal. In October a dinosaur-shaped hot air balloon (named “George,” after Boise CEO George Harad) floated over the company's headquarters in Boise, Idaho; in December, thousands of children sent letters to Harad asking him to end old growth forest destruction; next, activists hung a giant banner in Boise's home town reading “Boise: An American Disgrace.” Other salvos included public demonstrations, a national ad campaign, a shareholder resolution, celebrity endorsements, and a nationwide tour by George (the dinosaur). Levi Strauss, Kinko's, Washington Mutual and dozens of other companies and universities publicly agreed to stop buying wood and paper products from Boise.

The same strategy convinced Home Depot, the world's largest lumber retailer, to stop selling wood from endangered forests back in 1999. In

2002, office-supply giant Staples agreed to stop purchasing endangered-forest products following a similar campaign led by ForestEthics. In fact, since 1997, more than 400 US corporations (representing 25 percent of the US wood market) have committed to go old growth-free.

The success of campaigns is being seen around the world. In 2001, logging companies, environmental groups, First Nations, and the provincial government reached an agreement to protect 3.5 million acres of the Great Bear Rainforest in British Columbia, Canada, following a four-year fight led by Greenpeace. In 2003, the two largest logging companies in Chile committed themselves to protecting one million acres of Chile's native forests. ForestEthics brought the logging companies to the negotiating table by securing commitments from 10 major corporate US wood consumers not to buy from Chile's endangered native forests.

The strategy has been so successful that RAN is now using a similar approach to target the financial sector. The organization launched a campaign calling on Citigroup, America's largest bank, to end its destructive investments in fossil fuel and deforestation. In April 2003, Citigroup executives asked RAN for a cease-fire of campaign activities, and the negotiations began.

Ilyse Hogue, RAN's global finance campaign director, says the megabank is close to adopting social and environmental standards that will be “revolutionary for the industry.”

“The Citigroup campaign was an experiment to see if we could leverage enough pressure against a bank to make them change their policies. We have found that banks are vulnerable to this type of pressure.”

“It is no longer a matter of if we can create change, but of who we push and how hard.”

Laura Fauth was a writer, editor and environmental activist in San Francisco, California. She recently joined Adbusters.

THE PARTY OF THE FUTURE

YOU KNOW THE GREEN PARTY HAS ARRIVED WHEN THE United States starts taking it seriously. Here's a country where, Dennis Kucinich notwithstanding, people kid themselves the Democrats and Republicans are divergent political entities. Outside the media-handicapped US, most observers can see that Bill Clinton was just George W. Bush with a saxophone. Bush invaded Iraq; Clinton bombed Sarajevo. Bush rolled back environmental standards and rewarded his rich pals with ill-conceived tax cuts; Clinton kept big business happy by championing NAFTA and the GATT.

But let's not beat up on America. In more liberal Western democracies, many voters are under the illusion that their choices consist of Right versus Left, a tired old construct dividing the world into conservative hawks and spendthrift bleeding hearts. Rather than cutting down the middle – another grand illusion – what's wrong with a political party that believes a healthy environment and a strong economy needn't be mutually exclusive? Whose members don't dream of Karl Marx's fools' paradise, or accept an unequal world run by greedy bosses as the eternal order of things?

And to be fair, the US isn't entirely green when it comes to the Green Party. Much-maligned Ralph Nader took 3 percent of the vote in the 2000 presidential race, inspiring charges that he stole the election from Al Gore. More recently, Green candidate Matt Gonzalez narrowly lost last fall's San Francisco mayoral contest to his moneyed Democratic rival. The Greens now have more than 60 elected officials in California. They may still be zeros on Capitol Hill, but that's just fine for now with many Green politicians, who first want to win the battle at the local and state levels.

Globally speaking, the willfully decentralized Greens have been a powerful force for decades. They live by six tenets: ecological wisdom, social justice, participatory democracy, nonviolence, sustainability and respect for diversity. All of these were inchoate in spring 1972 when activists in Tasmania and New Zealand formed the United Tasmania Group and the Values Party, Green organizations in all but name.

Britain got its own ecocentric party in 1973, but it wasn't until a decade later that Green entered common usage. In 1983, the German Green Party (Die Grünen), led by the late Petra Kelly, won 27 seats in the 498-member Bundestag.

Through the 1980s and '90s, Green parties sprang up

around the globe. Leftists and activists gathered under the Green umbrella – to the chagrin of some members, who felt their broadly aimed message was being co-opted. Today, more than 70 countries have their own Green parties, from Finland to China to Somalia. New Zealand has nine Green MPs in its 120-member parliament.

In North America, the Greens are strongest in the western Canadian province of British Columbia, population four million. There, the Green Party took an unprecedented 12.4 percent of the popular vote in the 2001 election. Although that number didn't yield a single seat, it was almost triple Ralph Nader's vote. And in a "first-past-the-post" contest, only one other Green Party worldwide has ever exceeded it (the UK

Greens, who captured 14.9 percent of votes in the 1989 European elections). Today, overall support for the British Columbia Greens runs as high as 25 percent in some regions, according to polling firm Ipsos-Reid.

At this point, it's hard to judge how the Greens will position themselves against the Republicans and Democrats. As Micah L. Sifry explained in *The Nation* last November, party members are split about how to proceed: some would rather skip the presidential race this time around, others are pushing for Nader to challenge the big guys again, and still others want the Greens to run only in so-called "safe states" where they have a chance of winning. The latter group doesn't necessarily endorse Nader. One possible replacement is Texas Green Party co-founder David Cobb, whose website pledges "a democratic movement that will take this country back from the corporate hooligans who have hijacked it from us."

This is a time for the Greens to be bold. In 2004 let's not stop at the Green plan to tax bads (fossil fuels,

pollution, deforestation) rather than goods (alternative energy, organic farming, ecotourism) in the pursuit of sustainability. Voters need to hear the ideas outlined by groups such as the UK's Green Economy Working Group <www.sustecweb.co.uk>. What about equitable taxation of land and natural resources, so that benefits flow back to the many before the few grow wealthy off them?

The world's ready to go Green. There's everything to lose, and everything to gain.

Nick Rockel



MATT GONZALEZ 'GET OUT THE VOTE' POSTCARD

ACCESS DENIED

IN GENEVA, KOFI ANNAN SPOKE AND BROUGHT DOWN THE house. Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, well, not quite.

A brief and awkward applause greeted the president of Tunisia's words at the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in December. Information societies have the potential to "radically change" the face of the world, he said, but developing nations are being left out of the equation. "[T]he digital divide is . . . a gap impeding the dialogue of civilizations."

A poignant message to rouse UN delegates at the opening ceremony. But perhaps the wrong messenger. To many, Ben Ali, the one time coup-leader and dictator who now runs Tunisia with what *The Economist* calls a "cinematic" democracy, appeared sadly beyond his moral depth.

As Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe took the stage to accuse "the rich imperialist northern countries" of using information technology as tools of propaganda, it appeared the meeting could degenerate into a political shouting match.

Were these two drowned out by moderate and progressive voices interested in change? Hardly. Instead, Ben Ali and Mugabe properly symbolize a summit that was full of irony and disappointment. From closed-door negotiations, to the poor treatment of non-delegate attendees, and of course, the market-bound final resolutions, Geneva had an all too predictable finale. What had been heralded as a groundbreaking opportunity, a chance for the international community to come together and start dealing with our post-industrial reality, just didn't deliver.

Preliminary summit documents had the technological plight of poor nations on the agenda: the human right to communicate was finally going to be recognized. Moreover, civil society was promised a significant role in the negotiations, leading some to hype WSIS as a potential "Rio for the Mental Environment."

Instead, two days in Geneva quickly revealed how the United Nations is failing us. First, incredibly, civil society representatives were excluded from the talks. In protest they elected to draft their own declaration, "Shaping Information Societies for Human Needs." It aimed to create a society with free access to information and was submitted to the UN powers at the meeting's close. "In

the beginning of the WSIS process, we had the impression that we were equal partners," said Robert Guerra, part of a team leading the Civil Society Caucus in Geneva. Their high hopes were not met by access or participation.

Big business, on the other hand, was warmly welcomed into the fold. According to IDG News Service, "The US delegation went so far as to invite a group of motion picture executives to attend a session and argue their case." In this cozy atmosphere, previous political support for corporately-loathed open-source and proprietary software didn't stand a chance.

Totalitarian governments again stopped efforts to revisit Article 19 of the Declaration of Human Rights – to establish a new human right to communicate – despite intense lobbying from delegates from the South and civil society. And lastly, there's the West. Of the 175 countries in Geneva for the summit, only a handful of heads of state from Europe and North America bothered to show, snubbing the well-

represented South. The problems and missed opportunities at the summit are frustrating, but they also raise a larger, more uncomfortable question about the role of the United Nations itself. Optimists and many progressives believe that, for all its faults, the UN remains globalization's positive force – the counterweight to such heartless institutions as the WTO and IMF.

But how long can this goodwill toward the UN last, considering its record? The UN has presided over a seemingly endless parade of disappointments and failures. Something's got to give. "Meeting today's challenges," noted French president Jacques Chirac at the UN in January, "requires a far-reaching reform of our organization."

If the United Nations is, indeed, the global political system on which our hopes hang we had better make it work. We had better crash down its doors, get inside and show those bourgeois bureaucrats the people's side of democracy.

Tim Walker



Just before Christmas the chairman of the Australian Broadcast Authority, David Flint, received an unusual email. Fed up Aussie Michelle Canales was asking for better regulation of her country's television giants. Her demand? That Mr. Flint mandate the networks to set aside two minutes every hour for citizen-produced messages. "I was intrigued," recalls Mr. Flint, "and realized, after more [emails] came in, that this was some kind of campaign." You got it, Mr. Flint.

Since *Adbusters* launched the Two-Minute Media Revolution letter-writing action in November, as part of our Media Carta campaign, people around the world have been swamping their national regulators with the same demands for access to the airwaves. For her efforts, Ms. Canales received a polite but terse assurance. Australians have "public broadcasting", "community radio" and "talk-back programs." As if that's enough.

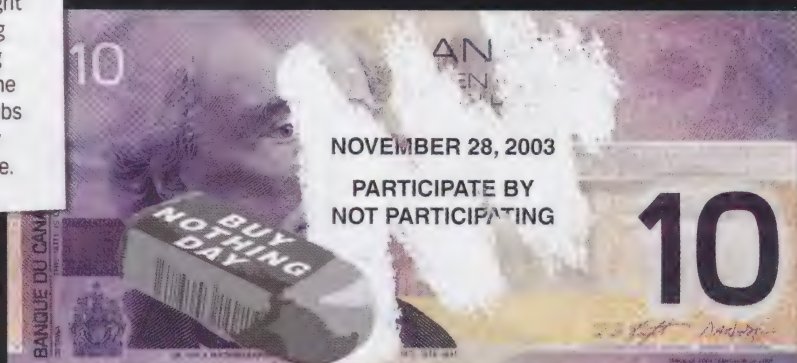
This is the first step in a complete rethink of the communications industry. Help begin the shake-up by writing to your national regulators. Find out how and get more info at www.mediacarta.org.

BND Wrap

We took last year's giant credit cards, shackled them again to our bodies and carried them stumbling and falling to the entrance to St. Louis' Galleria mall (we call it The Diarrhea). This year we added several enormous comic-book styled thought bubbles reading: "Save 100% - Buy Nothing"; "I Am A Human Being, Not A "Consumer"; "But the TV Told Me To Buy It!"; "Debt+Love"; "I'm Spending My Way Into Happiness"; and "Does Love Really Cost \$59.99?" The signs were held aloft over our heads and over the sad credit card slaves. The thought balloons were a huge hit - in the four hours of frigid blasts, we got innumerable smiles, thumbs-up and appreciative honks. Watching people in cars move their mouths as they read them, or watching a smile or a deep thought blossom was worth every chill endured.

Paul MacFarlane
St. Louis, Missouri

I loved buying nothing. The mere act of buying nothing, which is no simple thing in this culture, gave me more energy than any of the garbage being offered out there might have. Now I'm trying to have a buy nothing day at least once a week and it's changing the way I think about things. I can't stop the government from buying tanks, guns, bombs and shares of Halliburton every day on my dime, but I can do this much in my own life.
Cass Nevada



BUY NOTHING DAY
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CASH	0.00
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CODE RATE TAXABLE TAX	
GST 0.000% 0.00 0.00	
PST 0.000% 0.00 0.00	
CHANGE	0.00

Participate by
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a whole generation of post-consumer youth will demand greater meaning in life which might spell, if not an end, then a radical reorientation of consumer capitalism.



RED KEN

He said leaders of the International Monetary Fund should “die painfully in their beds.” He said, “Every year the international financial system kills more people than World War Two. But at least Hitler was mad.” Shortly after the World Trade Organization street protests in Seattle, he told *The Face* magazine that he has “always been in favor of direct action,” and that he would not invite the WTO to London “unless we can get vast stocks in so we can throw stuff at them in an organized way.” In 2000, Londoners made him mayor of one of the most influential cities in the world. By a landslide.

Ken Livingstone, a working-class politico known for his “cheeky-chappie” approach and his immunity to press attacks, ran as an independent after a rigged selection process lost him the Labour Party mayoral candidacy despite the fact he had won the majority support. Tony Blair was said

to be personally invested in a policy of “anyone but Ken” and predicted that Livingstone as mayor would be a “disaster” for London. If Blair was assuming he might have something to worry about from the new Mayor of London, he was not disappointed. Livingstone took a public stand against Dubya’s official visit to England last fall, saying that the Republican National Committee should pick up the colossal security costs involved in keeping Bush insulated from thousands of protestors, given that the event was staged “just so George Bush can use a few clips of him and the queen in his campaign advertisements for re-election next year.” Livingstone took it upon himself to organize a “peace party” for anti-war groups at City Hall to coincide with Bush’s visit. “I don’t formally recognize George Bush because he was not officially elected,” he said. “So we are organizing an alternative reception for everybody who is not George Bush.” Bush, he said, “is the greatest threat to life on this planet that we’ve most probably ever seen.”

The longtime social activist has lent his support to the next European Social Forum, to be held in London

in November 2004, where tens of thousands will gather to discuss alternative visions for a sustainable and democratic global society. Livingstone has already announced his opposition to the release of genetically modified (GM) organisms in the vicinity of London, a position some hope will turn into a wholesale declaration of London as a GM-free zone.

In 2003, “Red Ken” took a step in the direction of global sanity. He faced down an army of skeptics and addressed London’s chronic traffic problems by instituting a controversial £5 (\$8) “congestion charge” on vehicles entering the city. It worked. Indeed, it worked so well that cities like Stockholm, Lisbon, Paris, Milan and New York are pondering a similar move. Some 50,000 fewer cars now enter central London every day, and transit use has surged, by the equivalent of 104 million passenger trips per year. “It says much about our impoverished times that I find it hard to think of a recent comparable action that has had such an obvious, instant and beneficial impact on our individual and collective lives,” wrote Will Hutton in the *Observer*. And the Labour party, hoping to capitalize on Livingstone’s enduring popularity, has changed its mind: Ken has been welcomed back.

Deborah Campbell

HOT ZINES

Most of the zillion zines out there are really shitty, with just a few shining stars. Here are some of the heavy hitters in the political category. All have excitement, anger, edge and heartfelt things to say. They are non-profit or anti-profit, and they are by no means the canon of underground reading.

Cometbus Stories of achingly lovely pain and a quiet, smirking sadness show how to live a beautiful life off the radar and still buy beer and note pads. Get it mail order and at good zine shops. Cometbus: p.o. box 4279 Berkeley, California, 94704

Punk Planet This fiercely independent bi-monthly zine is dedicated to music, culture and politics and reviews every record sent to them (as long as it’s not on a major label). From good newsstands and by subscription. <www.punkplanet.com>

Ashville Global Report This zine is a good example of how motivated citizens can provide a hard news alternative to the mainstream media in their communities. <www.agrnews.org/issues/257/index.html>

Lumpen/Select magazine Lumpen/Select are behind Chicago’s annual ‘Select Media’ festivals, a series of events

and panels looking at themes surrounding the future of art, media and technology. They belong to the new generation of activist hipsters: digitalized, freaked out and plugged in to a new wavelength. Available on the web and at over 1,000 locations nationwide. <www.lumpen.com>

Green Anarchist One recent issue by editor Stephen Booth was a bang on analysis of empire and the dark aspects of American hegemony. <www.greenanarchist.org.uk/Ga.htm>

Also notable: Heart Attack; Impact press <www.impactpress.com> available free in dozens of cities through the underground; and Asian-American Hyphen from California, and Chicago’s Latino-focused Hasta Cuando. Both provide investigative reporting and news from the front lines.

Jared Jacang Maher



DENNIS THE MENACE

When Dennis Kucinich was mayor of Cleveland in the late 1970s, his youth and combative style gave him the sobriquet Dennis the Menace. Nowadays the Ohio Congressman is a lot older and wiser, but he hasn't lost the rebel streak that marked his early political sojourn. Fellow Democratic leadership candidate Howard Dean is considered radical in part because of his vociferous opposition to the war in Iraq, but Kucinich is the real maverick. He not only disagrees with the war, but unlike Dean, he would end the occupation of Iraq immediately and hand over administrative and security responsibilities to the UN.

Beyond Iraq, Kucinich's ideas are bolder by far than any other mainstream presidential candidate, and if implemented would dramatically reshape American politics. What other politician would dare propose a Department of Peace in recognition of the fact that peace is more than the absence of war? Kucinich also wants to retire the doctrine of 'preemption,' decrease the Pentagon's budget by 15 percent, and pursue a multilateralist foreign policy influenced by the principles of non-violence. He would sign the Kyoto accord, and pull the US out of the WTO, NAFTA, and the FTAA. In their place, Kucinich envisions trade treaties built on workers' and human rights and environmental principles. Domestically, his administration would introduce universal health care, repeal the Patriot Act, eliminate the death penalty and end the war on drugs. He would also clean house in the corporate world by establishing a federal corporate charter to encode corporate rights and responsibilities. To help small farmers, Kucinich would rein in big agribusiness conglomerates, encourage organic farming, and require labels for all genetically modified food.

In addition to these ideas, Kucinich's supporters are drawn to his inspirational speeches and evocative language. At a fundraiser in Cleveland, Kucinich stood on a chair and rallied the troops with a short but passionate speech: "We are in a position in this room to redirect the future of this country."

It's all rather refreshing, but could Kucinich put George Bush out of a job? While it may be preferable to see Kucinich in the White House, Howard Dean's presidential bid seems more plausible. And while Dean doesn't present as bold and compelling a vision as Kucinich, his anti-war stance, desire for universal health care, and promise to repeal Bush's tax cuts demonstrate that he's not too far behind the Ohio Congressman on the essentials. And although he's a big money candidate with a \$40 million war chest, the average donation is well under \$100. Not the kind of cash that demands special favors.

The story of Dean's initial foray into politics says a lot about the man. As a young doctor in 1978, Dean joined an effort to turn an abandoned rail line into a bike path. He lobbied City Hall and went through the usual bureaucratic hoops, but Vermont lawyer Rick Sharp recalls that on top of that "he'd be out there with his crowbar and his chainsaw, removing railroad ties." Dean hopes Americans of all political stripes will respect this pragmatic, can-do style. Meanwhile, the media insists on portraying Dean as a raging liberal – and therefore unelectable.



Dean rejects this assessment and doesn't want to get caught up in the Left-Right pissing match. He told *Time* magazine: "I do not like ideologues. I never trusted ideologues. That's why I don't trust this Administration. When I was in the '60s, I didn't trust the Left either. I was never part of any of those Lefty organizations. Ideologues always sacrifice people before their supposed principles, so they never deliver for human beings what they claim their credo advises them to deliver."

Still, Republicans will try to paint him as Red as possible, and one GOP organizer referred to him as a "gift from heaven." But can Dean win in November 2004? Critics who claim that he only speaks to the hard-Left core of the Democratic Party, ignore the fact that he has brought tens of thousands of new people into the party. And he can't be written off as a tax-and-spend liberal. When Dean was Vermont's governor, he balanced budgets while expanding health care and increasing conservation areas. Plus he's a great match for Bush. He shoots from the hip like the cowboy president, and his slip-ups haven't hurt him much.

In a perfect world, voters could follow their heart and not worry about the pros and cons of strategic voting. But with a neocon Republican stranglehold on government, this is hardly a perfect world. After seeing what Bush is capable of, many on the Left are leery of voting with the heart, à la Ralph Nader. This time around, while Kucinich may be the more visionary candidate, Dean is probably a better bet to win. So some strategists have an alternative plan: back Dean in 2004 and use his presidency as a stepping stone. With the political agenda wrestled away from Bush's rampaging Right, Kucinich's ideas would seem less far-out to the electorate. And after that, who knows? By 2008, the country might be ready for a real paradigm shift.

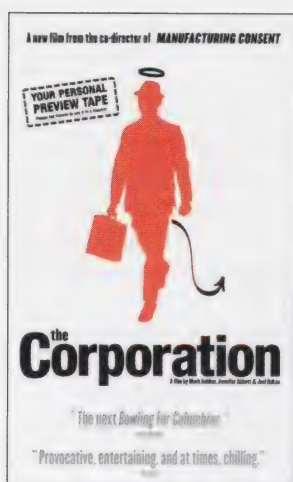
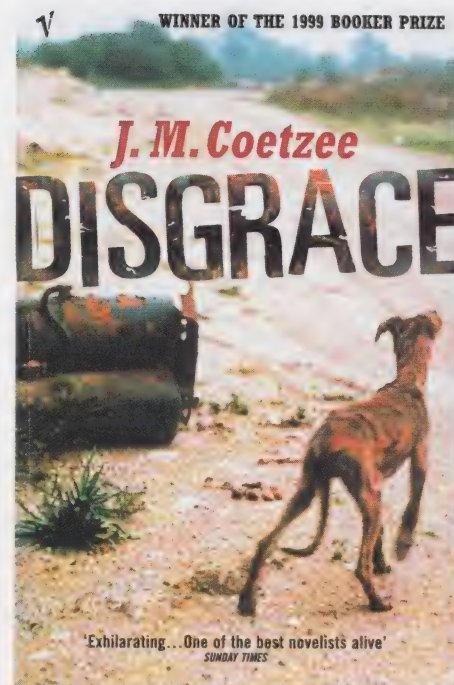
Nicholas Klassen

J.M. COETZEE'S NOVEL *Waiting for the Barbarians* TELLS THE STORY OF AN EMPIRE THAT dispatches a ruthless emissary to one of its colonies after hearing rumors of a barbarian rebellion. Set in the harsh terrain of what could be the Middle East or Central Asia (zones of influence for many a Great Power over the ages), it opens with two barbarian prisoners, a boy and an old man, who have been picked up on a routine military expedition.

Questioning proceeds quickly to torture, and a gentle colonial administrator is confronted with the brutality of his masters, the envoys of "civilization." Unable to close his eyes or his mouth, he learns that speaking out against injustice can exact a terrible price. The question of exactly who are the real barbarians emerges as the empire's blind cruelty leads to its inevitable defeat.

An allegorical novel published in 1980 that ought to be required reading for today's would-be empire-builder, *Waiting for the Barbarians* illustrates the taut storytelling and social relevance that won Coetzee the Nobel and two Booker prizes – for the intensely moving *Life and Times of Michael K* and his masterwork, *Disgrace*. The South African writer and professor leans into moral questions, capturing in equal measure the banality of evil and the capacity for good. His slim novels don't avoid hard truths, and neither, dear reader, will you. It's a rare pleasure to have our values challenged, perhaps even changed, by one of the great prose writers of our time.

Deborah Campbell



SEEN A GOOD 'NON-FICTION film' recently? That's what documentaries are being called now as they continue pushing into the mainstream. *Bowling for Columbine* is the most obvious success of the genre, but there were others in 2003.

Documentaries now exist in an uneasy realm. On one side are directors who see today's tiny, broadcast-quality digital video cameras as an invitation to place themselves into the action and trust the objectivity of their eye. On the other are directors who, in true pommo fashion, eschew any

notion of objectivity, using every device available to tell their story and make their point.

The Revolution Will Not Be Televised is a traditional journalistic account of the attempted 2002 coup against Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. For 48 hours Chavez was held following a kidnapping at gunpoint whilst business leaders already helped by US State Department spin doctors tried to convince a restless nation he had resigned. An Irish news crew was in the country on assignment, and they grabbed a bag of blank tapes and started filming. The doc doesn't try to choose sides but presents the pro- and anti-Chavez forces' claims as a thicket for the viewer to force through. The choice, in the end, is yours.

Never afraid to let you know which side it's cheering for but still allowing opposing points of view is the Canadian non-fiction film *The Corporation*. It's already being touted

as the new *Bowling for Columbine* and is being well received at film festivals around the world before its general release. Mark Achbar and Jennifer Abbott, behind 1992's *Manufacturing Consent*, worked with writer Joel Bakan on a history of the modern corporation and its rise as the dominant institution in the world. It is dense with facts, which given its hefty 165-minute running time and book-like structure, makes it a heavy meal to digest. (Release copies should be around two hours, which is still long for a mass audience.)

Passive talking-head interviews with the usual suspects (Naomi Klein, Michael Moore, Noam Chomsky) and some unusual ones (CEOs, Milton Friedman) mix with an absolutely literal use of footage – if the voice-over is talking about sharks, you can bet a shark will appear on screen seconds later.

Good moments include the FBI's top consultant on psychopaths diagnosing corporations as textbook psychopathic and a former Goodyear CEO admitting "Governments have become powerless compared to how they were 50 to 60 years ago." It's quite something to hear that from Big Business.

And then there's *Surplus*, from Swedish filmmaker Eric Gandini, which dispenses altogether with the classical idea of narrative in favour of a collage of repeated pictures, interview soundbites and musical beats. It works well for the first half-hour, illustrating the destructive power of consumer culture. But the relentless cut-cut-cut of images starts to feel manipulative, and the later focus on Castro's Cuba plain bizarre. Still worth watching for the scene with a bug-eyed Microsoft exec Steve Ballmer whipping up a company conference like a fundamentalist rally: "I have four words. I. Love. This. Company." Sometimes the world is too strange to look at straight.

Mark White

BANKSY

BANKSY IS DUE ANY MINUTE. THE ONLY trouble is I don't know what he looks like. Nobody here seems to know what he looks like. But they all know him. That is, they know of him. That is, if he is a he. The barman in the pub in Shoreditch, a trendy part of London with a whiff of the old East End, flushes when I mention Banksy and talks in a hushed voice. "Yes, I know Bansk. Well I used to, sort of. See, I'm from Bristol, and I was also involved in graffiti."

Is he in the pub at the moment? He shakes his head diffidently. He is not sure he would recognise him and if he did manage to point him out, thinks he could get into trouble. I tell him that I'm here to interview him. He doesn't believe me – Banksy doesn't do interviews. Banksy is Britain's most celebrated graffiti artist, but anonymity is vital to him because graffiti is illegal. The day he goes public is the day the graffiti ends.

His black and white stencils are beautiful, witty and gently subversive: policemen with smiley faces, rats with drills, monkeys with weapons of mass destruction (or, when the mood takes him, mass disruption), little girls cuddling up to missiles, police officers walking great flossy poodles, Samuel Jackson and John Travolta in Pulp Fiction firing bananas instead of guns, a beefeater daubing "Anarchy" on the walls. He signs his pieces in a chunky, swirling typeface. Sometimes there are just words, in the same chunky typeface – puns and ironies, statements and incitements. At traditional landmarks, he often signs "This is not a photo opportunity". On establishment buildings he may sign "By Order National Highways Agency This Wall Is A Designated Graffiti Area". (Come back a few days later, and people will have obediently tagged the wall.)

Banksy has branched out recently – he designed the cover of the Blur album, *Think Tank*, and has had his first gallery show, 'Turf War', in Britain. He is somehow managing to straddle the commercial, artistic and street worlds.

It is easy to become addicted to

his work. Since spotting my first few Banksies, I have been desperately seeking out more. When I do come across them, surreptitiously peeping out of an alley or boldly emblazoned on a wall, I find it hard to contain myself. They feel personal, as if they are just for me, and they feel public as if they are a gift for everyone. They make me smile and

feel optimistic about the possibilities of shared dreams and common ownership. On the Banksy trail I meet lots of devotees. They say that Banksy has customised the city, reclaimed it, made it theirs.

There is still no sign of him. I walk into the street to phone Steve, his "agent". "Ah, I'll bring him over right now," he says in his Bristol burr. I have the strange sensation of hearing him in stereo. I look up the road, and see a man 40 yards away talking into the phone. Steve doesn't look like an agent. Actually, he says, he is Banksy's friend and takes photos for him.

Two minutes later they arrive in the pub. Banksy is white, 28, scruffy casual – jeans, T-shirt, a silver tooth, silver chain and silver earring. He looks like a cross between Jimmy Nail and Mike Skinner of the Streets. He asks if he can nab a cigarette and orders a pint of Guinness. There is something on his mind. He tells me how he noticed that a piece of his graffiti has been papered over by a poster advertising Michael

Moore's *Stupid White Men* – a bestselling book about how to subvert the system. "So Michael Moore was the corporate who fucked me over and ruined my picture. It's a weird world, a sick world." But he seems to quite like the idea.

Banksy started doing graffiti when he was a miserable 14-year-old schoolboy. School never made sense to him – he had problems, was expelled, did some time in prison for petty crime, but he doesn't want to go into details.

Graffiti, he says, made him feel better



about himself, gave him a voice. And Bristol had a thriving graffiti culture. "But because I was quite crap with a spray can, I started cutting out stencils instead." I tell him about the time I graffiti'd someone's name across the road. He nods, approvingly. "Ah, that's the key to graffiti, the positioning." I tell him that I felt guilty – not because I had broken the law but because I had used a can of paint to get revenge and the boy had to live with his name Duluxed across the road.

"Yeah, it's all about retribution really," he says. "Just doing a tag is about retribution. If you don't own a train company then you go and paint on one instead. It all comes from that thing at school when you had to have name tags in the back of something – that makes it belong to you. You can own half the city by scribbling your name over it."

A model of a young girl is hoisted into the air above London's Piccadilly Circus by a McDonald's-emblazoned helium balloon. Banksy has struck again. The thing is, angry passers by think it's all a cheap marketing gimmick so they tear it down. For his part, Banksy notes that any child raised on Happy Meals would be far too fat to get abducted by a balloon.



As he talks, it strikes me that he may not be who he says he is. How do I know you are Banksy? "You have no guarantee of that whatsoever." But he seems too passionate about his work not to be. What is his real name? "Pass! You must be kidding."

Does he consider himself an artist? "I don't know. We were talking about this the other day. I'm using the word vandalism a lot with the show. You know what hip-hop has done with the word 'nigger' – I'm trying to do that with the word vandalism, bring it back." He also likes the word brandalism.

Banksy's attitude to brands is ambivalent – he opposes corporate branding and has become his own brand in the process. Now, people are selling forged Banksies on the black market or stencil kits so we can produce our own Banksies. Does he mind being ripped off? "No," he says. "The thing is, I was a bootlegger for three years so I don't really have a leg to stand on."

What's the newest thing that he's doing? "BOGOF sculpture. It's based on Tesco's Buy One, Get One Free. I'm making sculptures, two of each. One I sell and the other one I give away free to the city. The first one, which is going to be unveiled today, is like a huge The Thinker by Rodin, in bronze, with the traffic cone on his head also cast out of bronze."

That is another aspect of art he says interests him – efficiency. Why spend years on a sculpture when you can simply plonk a traffic cone on the head of a classic sculpture and create a whole new work? "If you have a statue in the city centre you could go past it every day on your way to school and never even notice it, right, but as soon as someone puts a traffic cone on its head, and you've made your own sculpture and it's taken seconds. The holy grail is to spend less time making the picture than it takes people to look at it." He smiles. I'm not sure that he really believes this.

Is it true that his prints sell for upwards of £10,000? He is not sure because he doesn't flog them directly but yes, they go for a high price. What about the story that he designed a swish New York hotel? "Well, I did paint a hotel in New York City once. But it's a dive hotel

– \$68 a night. Every room is painted by a different artist and if you paint it you stay there rent free."

Over the past couple of years the very brands he despises have approached him to do advertising campaigns for them. Is there work he would turn down on principle? "Yeah, I've turned down four Nike jobs now. Every new campaign they email me to ask me to do something about it. I haven't done any of those jobs. The list of jobs I haven't done now is so much bigger than the list of jobs I have done. It's like a reverse CV, kinda weird. Nike have offered me mad money for doing stuff." What's mad money? "A lot of money!" he says bashfully.

Why did he turn it down? "Because I don't need the money and I don't like children working their fingers to the bone for nothing. I like that Jeremy Hardy line: 'My 11-year-old daughter asked me for a pair of trainers the other day. I said, 'Well, you're 11, make 'em yourself.' I want to avoid that shit if at all possible."

I ask him if you need to be nimble to be a good graffiti artist. "Yeah, it's all part of the job description. Any idiot can get caught. The art to it is not getting picked up for it, and that's the biggest buzz at the end of the day because you could stick all my shit in Tate Modern and have an opening with Tony Blair and Kate Moss on roller blades handing out vol-au-vents and it wouldn't be as exciting as it is when you go out and you paint something big where you shouldn't do. The feeling you get when you sit home on the sofa at the end of that, having a fag and thinking there's no way they're going to rumble me, it's amazing . . . better than sex, better than drugs, the buzz."

Was it a tough decision to exhibit in a gallery? No, he says – first of all, it was hardly a posh gallery, it was an old warehouse. Second, without a formal space, how could he possibly

display his live sheep, pigs and cows? Actually, he says, graffiti is by definition rather proscriptive. "Most councils are committed to removing offensive graffiti within 24 hours, anything racist, sexist or homophobic, they will send out a team within 24 hours." But somehow if it's "art" in a gallery, the boundaries of taste aren't so rigidly defined.

He talks about his stencils of Jewish women at Belsen, daubed in fluorescent lipstick – an image as poignant as it is grotesque. "Now I could never do that on the street because it's just blatantly offensive." But in a gallery he can show it in context. "It's actually based on a diary entry from a colonel who liberated Bergen-Belsen. He described how they liberated this women-only camp, and a box of supplies turned up containing 400 sticks of lipstick, and he went nuts – 'Why are you sending me lipstick?' But he sent it out to the women, and they put it on each other, they did their hair; and because it gave them the will to live it was probably the best thing the soldiers did when they liberated that camp." He tells the story beautifully. "See, that's talking about how the application of paint can make a difference."

Does he ever see himself becoming part of the art establishment? "I don't know. I wouldn't sell shit to Charles Saatchi. If I sell 55,000 books [he has published two, *Existencilism* and *Banging Your Head Against A Brick Wall*] and however many screen prints, I don't need one man to tell me I'm an artist. It's hugely different if people buy it, rather than one fucking Tory punter does. No, I'd never knowingly sell anything to him."

He returns to the subject his opening night at the art gallery, and talks about it with such excitement. He wished he could go, but knew it would be too risky. Did his parents go? "No. They still don't know what I do." Really, I say, they have no sense of how much you've achieved? "No," he says tenderly. "They think I'm a painter and decorator."

Simon Hattenstone
Reprinted with permission from
The Guardian

i've been doing it again, frantically enjoying those daytime talk shows and routinely sending emails: i love your show! i can't start my day without you! you are part of my life! you have a loyal friend . . . a pathetic, unemployed, shriveling, high-speed brain-washed drone who relishes every second i'm there with you—in real America—where all personalities have a perfect harmony of black and white (and maybe a few asians or hispanics for added multiculturalism), witty retorts, charming laughter and sparkling smiles. i don't know if i can continue writing to them or entering their contests or trying to get a seat in the studio audience or staying home all day or avoiding showers or eating nothing but stale cookies and cheetos. but if they would simply say my name, just once, or respond to my letters, i would know i'm real. i fall asleep with the television on, not because of forgetfulness or laziness, but because i'm afraid of dying in complete darkness, alone.

Harriet, USA

My best friend died this summer. I went to her funeral. I watched as people framed her life in a paragraph, a picture and a song. I leaned against a cold brick wall at the very back of the church and listened as strangers told me what I will miss the most. I shook hands with her dad and saw the wet tears on his cheeks. I searched for someone else who had tears to share with me. People held onto small styrofoam plates of dessert and talked loudly about things that made them talk loudly. I looked at her picture on the piece of paper I was given and remembered the sound of her laugh. I went to her grave. There was no tombstone yet but I saw the sunflowers on the fresh dirt, the shadow of pine trees on green grass. I wondered where she was. I wondered how a person leaves everything they own and disappears. I wondered how much a person might pay for one more conversation or where someone might be able to purchase another few seconds of eye contact. I wondered why it was only now, standing beside a freshly dug grave that I missed her most. That's when everything changed. I found myself staring reality in the face. I saw through the glitz and the glamour, rush hour in the city, bright lights and neon signs, chrome detailing and the white-blue glow of TV in the dark. I woke up to the faint scent of pine needles in the breeze and the feeling of sweet, sweet pain burning a hole in my heart. All alone under the wide blue sky. I realized that despite our success in building islands in the sky and castles in the sea, we are really only silly people covered in skin, making things up as we go.

Dixon Wixie



see adbusters.org
for details

He stands in front of me. Right there, in my face. Blunt hatred, raging vehement loathing boils in my bones, muscles and mind. His red gleaming eyes reflect the fire in mine. Our pupils dilate and contract. Silence burns our nerves as we hold in the air that puffs our chests, impervious to daggers. Fury breathes from our vapor. My nostrils hold every particle of air I breathe to maintain my ferocity. I will not relinquish any moment of my might, not even my air. We both feed history to our fires. Every past incident, every forgotten moment, they blaze on our sneering lips. Diamonds will crush if placed between our grinding teeth. I could hear the pulse in my veins and temples. In the still of the moment, the time between each beat is a life.

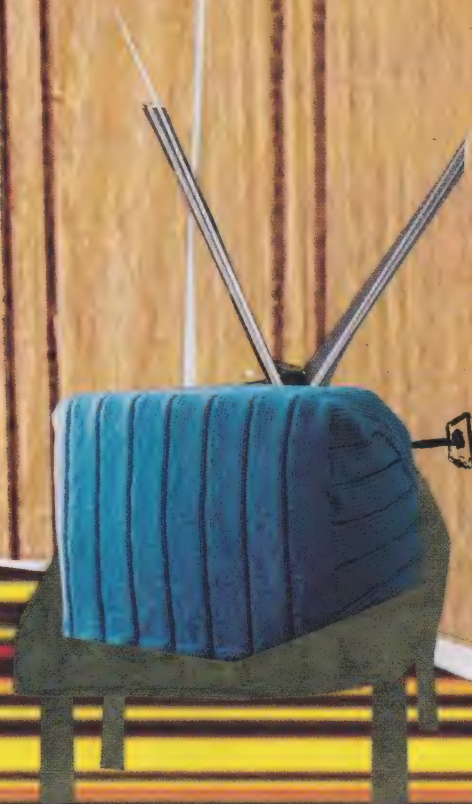
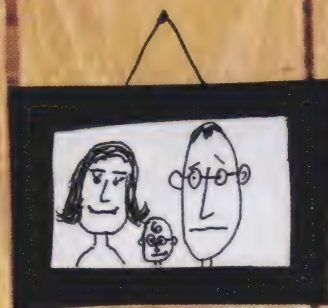
Our skin, strained from over-pulled muscles, starts to perspire. The first trace of sweat burns an acidic line from my temple to hang on my chin, and then hurls down to explode on concrete. The tension slowly draws us closer, with my forehead now almost touching his. My muscles contract as I pull my hand. My nails carve crescents into my palm's skin as I hold a fist. I pull back; I turn my body and . . .

Click. Change the channel.

Leo Kazitsky

TV TURNOFF

April 19-25





Captcha

"Captcha" font is the latest salvo in the escalating battle between humans and computers. The font was designed by Manuel Blum at Carnegie Mellon University to defend against 'bots': software programs that roam the internet in order to create spam. Bots work by boring into chat rooms and bombarding the participants with adverts. The "captcha" font protects websites by displaying a password that bots cannot decipher but humans can.

Has it really come to this? We humans have to develop fonts to fool computers. But since computers are already responsible for generating and grading the "captcha" test, it can't be long until they learn to crack it. And why should you have to squint your eyes to figure out what the hell the text says? We've confused the bots, but what is their next move?

For "Video Projections Outside Home," New York artist Dan Graham placed a giant screen on a suburban lawn and beamed his TV fare on to the street for the whole neighborhood to see. Would you have the guts to do that?

güñic

ART CONTRIBUTORS



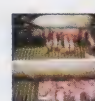
Gail Albert-Halaban
Cherries & Last Supper
Ariel Meyerowitz Gallery,
New York



Ralph Burns
from Series "How Great Thou Art"
Asheville, NC



Brian Ulrich
Chicago, USA
www.notifbutwhen.com



Peter Menzel
Napa, CA
"Environmental Series"



Banksy
London, England



Beth Yarnelle Edwards
Bruce & Melissa
Los Angeles



Hiroshi Sugimoto
"Sea Of Japan" - Rebun Island
1996
Courtesy Sonnabend Gallery
New York



Steve Lazarides
2002
London, England



Courtesy Jen Ross
La Fiesta Del Cuerpo
Santiago, Chile



Joy Garnett
from the series "Riot"
Courtesy of Debs & Co.
Gallery
New York



Karen Bubas
Ivy House Series
2002
Vancouver, BC



Dan Graham
Video Projection Outside Home, 1998
Architectural model
Courtesy of the artist and Marian
Goodman Gallery,
New York



CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS OUR BUSINESS

We are a loose global network of artists, writers, environmentalists, ecological economists, media-literacy teachers, reborn Lefties, ecofeminists, downshifters, high school shit-disturbers, campus rabble-rousers, incorrigibles, malcontents and green entrepreneurs. We are idealists, anarchists, guerrilla tacticians, pranksters, neo-Luddites, poets, philosophers and punks. Our aim is to topple existing power structures and forge a major rethinking of the way we will live in the 21st century. We want to change the way information flows, the way institutions wield power, the way the world keeps the peace, the way the food, fashion, automobile, sports, music and culture industries set their agendas. Above all, we want to change the way we interact with the mass media and the way in which meaning is produced in our society.

LA REVOLUCIÓN CULTURAL ES NUESTRO NEGOCIO

Somos una libre y relajada red global de artistas, escritores, ambientalistas, economistas ecológicos, estudiosos de la comunicación, izquierdistas renacidos, eco-feministas, minimalistas, desmadrosos de preparatoria, creadores de polémica universitaria, incorregibles, inconformistas y emprendedores verdes. Somos idealistas, anarquistas, tácticos de guerrilla, bromistas, neoludistas, poetas, filósofos y punks. Nuestro objetivo es derribar las estructuras de poder existentes y fraguar una profunda reflexión sobre la manera en que viviremos en el Siglo XXI. Queremos cambiar el flujo de la información, el modo en que las instituciones ejercen su poder, la forma en que el mundo mantiene la paz, la manera en que las industrias de la comida, la moda, los automóviles, los deportes, la música y la cultura fijan sus planes. Sobre todo, queremos cambiar la forma en que interactuamos con los medios masivos de comunicación y la manera en que el contenido y el significado son producidos en nuestra sociedad.

NOTRE AFFAIRE, C'EST LA RÉVOLUTION CULTURELLE

Nous sommes un réseau libre d'artistes, d'écrivains, d'écologistes, d'écolo-économistes, d'enseignants de la culture médiatique, de gens de la nouvelle gauche, d'écoféministes, de partisans d'une vie moins matérialiste, de semeurs de caca du secondaire, d'agitateurs universitaires, d'incorrigibles, d'insatisfaits et d'entrepreneurs verts. Nous sommes des idéalistes, des anarchistes, des stratèges de guérilla, des farceurs, des nouveaux Luddites, des poètes, des philosophes et des punks. Nous visons à faire basculer les structures de pouvoir existantes et à forger dans son entier un penser et un vivre du 21ème siècle. Nous voulons changer le trajet de l'information, l'exercice du pouvoir dans les institutions, la façon de faire régner la paix dans le monde, la manière dont les industries programment l'alimentation, la mode, l'automobile, les sports, la musique et la culture. Et pardessus tout, nous voulons changer notre relation avec les médias ainsi que la façon dont la signification se crée dans notre société.

FIND OUT MORE

Visit the Culture Jammers Campaign Headquarters.
www.adbusters.org

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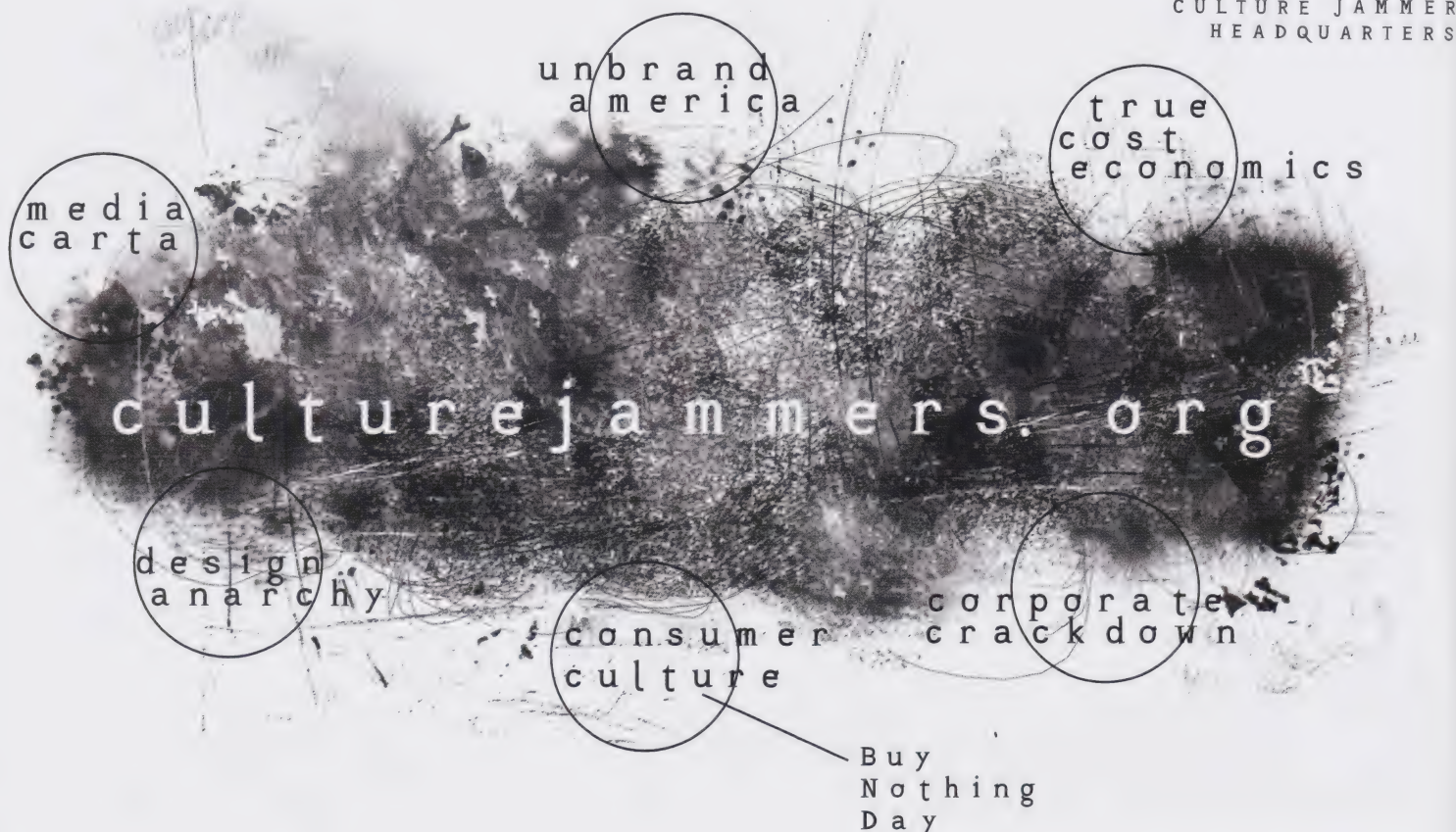
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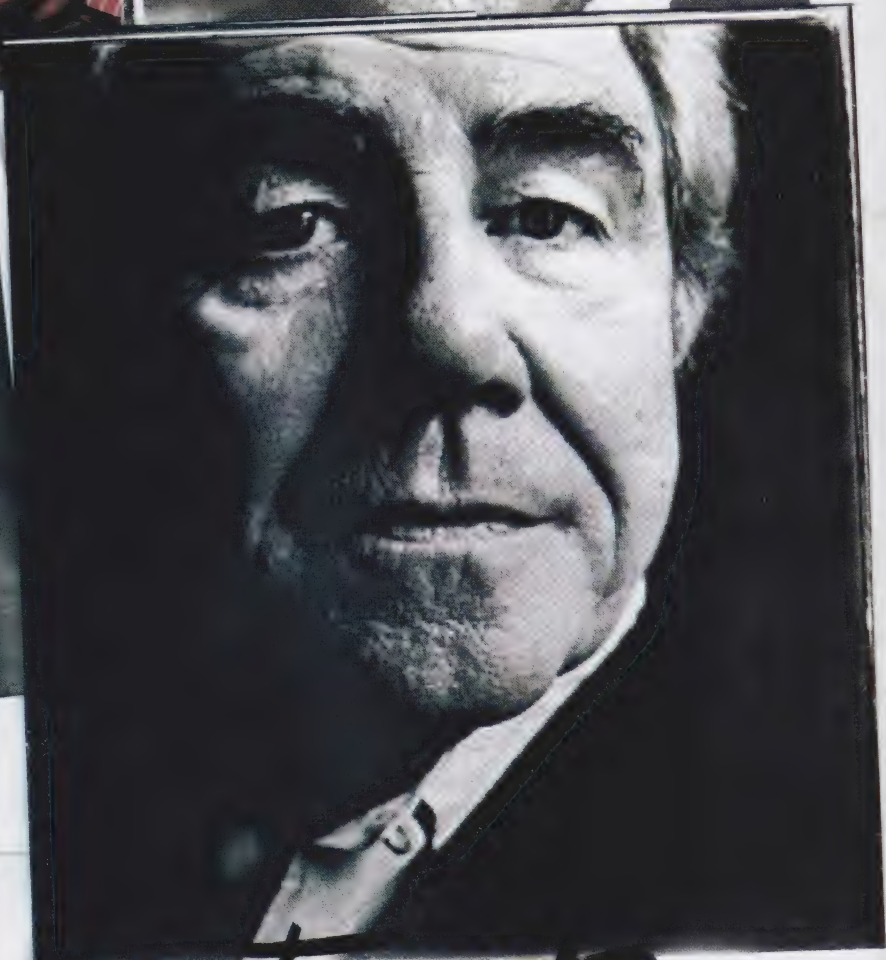
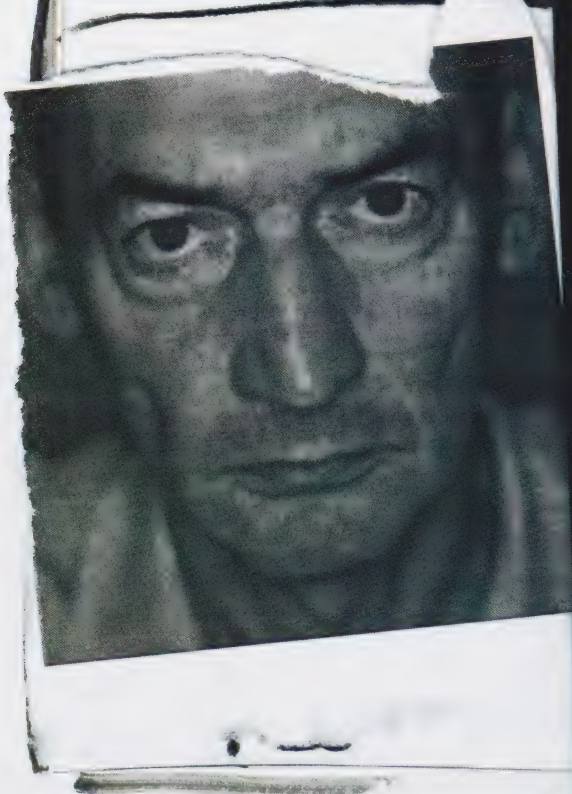
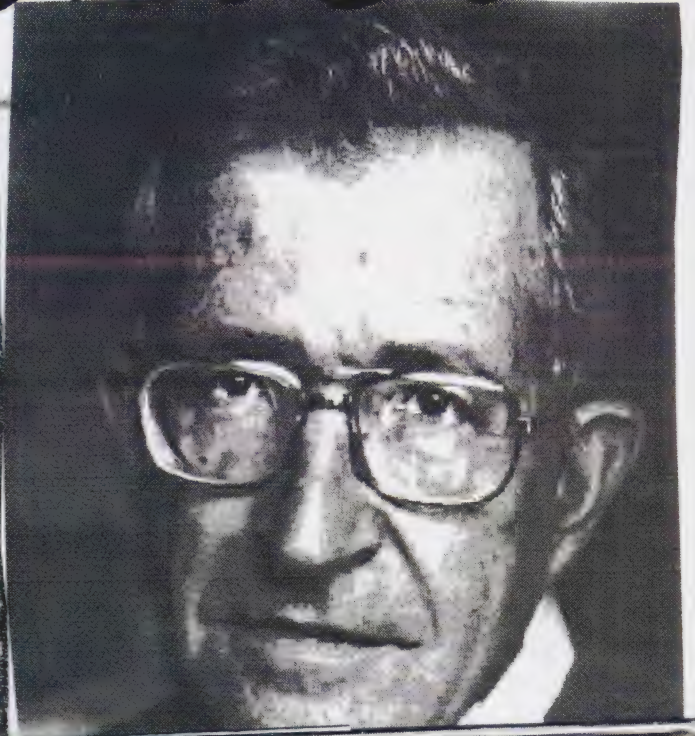
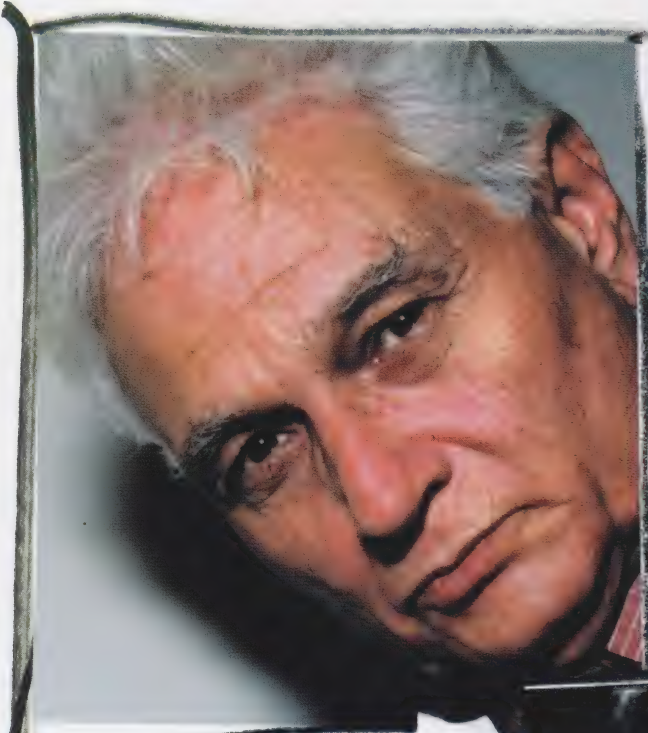
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CULTURE JAMMER
HEADQUARTERS



In that space where infinity above meets immensity below
we see the first sign of a new dawn. Dark always gives way
to light; for a brief moment nothing is forbidden, everything
is possible. But what would we do if the light never came?
Maybe we would lie down. Maybe we could go back to sleep.
Maybe we could wake up.

Deconstruct



the deconstructers

When the Left deconstructed its utopias as "totalizing" and "unrealistic," it lost its way. Deconstruction has destroyed our utopias. It has destroyed the Left. We have lost our ability to dream.

Murat Ergin

Screw going left and being radical. Fix the major parties already in existence. A good Republican president is better than than a great far-Left candidate who gets less than 1 % of the votes. Don't tear down the system just because it is stuttering. Oil the important parts, and send it rolling again.

Cat Bates

Our nation is still somewhat sad, but we're angry. There's a certain level of blood lust, but we won't let it drive our reaction. We're steady, clear-eyed and patient, but pretty soon we'll have to start displaying scalps.

George W. Bush

The Left isn't dead. Indeed, kids in my age group (twenties) are far more liberal than our parents. The problem is apathy. The looks on people's faces when I tell them to vote are incredulous. It's hard to move this generation to care about anything, let alone voting in a system which is viewed to be far removed and corrupt. The problem isn't the country moving to the Right, which is a widely held misconception on the part of the Left, rather it is moving people to give a damn and make a difference.

Andrew

I think the one thing our generation of like-minded people is missing is a true political party. A group that has a leader with progressive ideas. Who has the power to start something like this? Who has the balls? There are millions upon millions of non-voting youths that could swing a vote if real issues that gained their interest were presented.

David



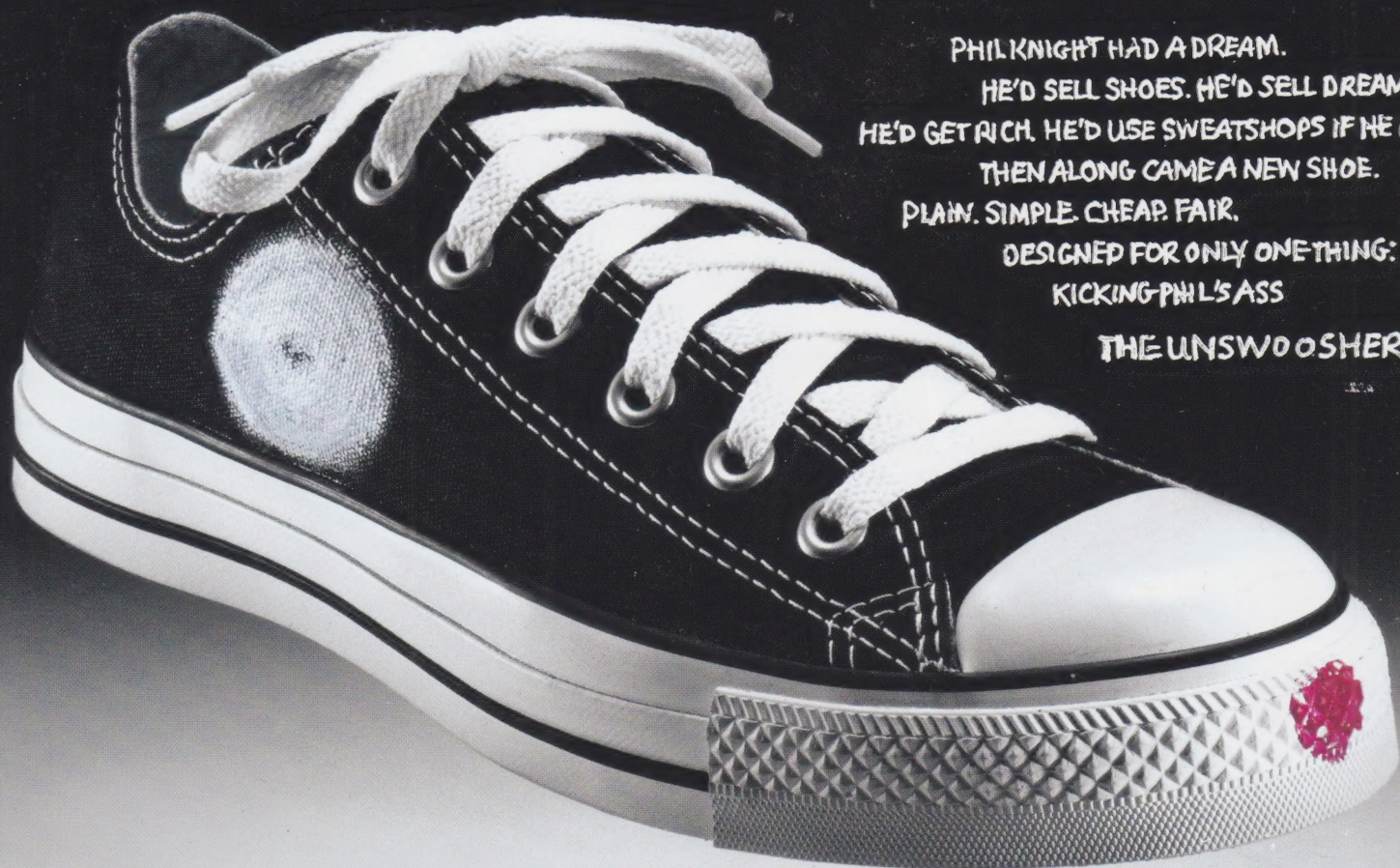




This is not about Right and Left, this is a war between the mind and the senses, between the Buddhas and the Devils, a war against the Self.

BRIAN KENNEDY

Rethink the Cool



PHIL KNIGHT HAD A DREAM.

HE'D SELL SHOES. HE'D SELL DREAMS.

HE'D GET RICH. HE'D USE SWEATSHOPS IF HE HAD TO.

THEN ALONG CAME A NEW SHOE.

PLAIN. SIMPLE. CHEAP. FAIR.

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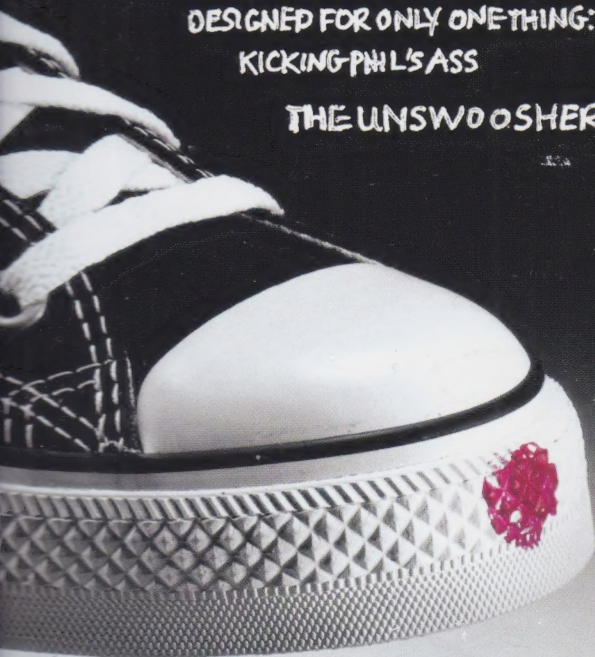
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